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Anecdotes of the manners and customs of, from the Roman invasion to the year 1700.

by

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CHAP. I.

ORIGIN OF BRITISH SOCIETY—CUSTOMS AND MANNERS.

THE imperfect notices we have of the people who at first inhabited England, necessarily lead us to view the accounts of very antient authors with suspicion: it would, however, be wrong to reject them as entirely fabulous; particularly as we have no other than conjectural objections. The Scriptures, we know, solve all our difficulties, and prove man to have diverged from one centre: hence it will appear that the most extended parts of the circle were peopled last, through the gradual progress of population, and the imperfect means of conveyance when every art was in its infancy. Three principles, apparently inherent in the nature of man, contributed to the distribution of his species; war, the vindictive spirit of ambition, and commerce, united with curiosity. It is useless to attempt ascer-

taining more than general objects in this research. Asia, then, we take as the centre, where a certain peculiarity of manners and customs prevailing, those of every degree in remove may be supposed to have changed as circumstances dictated, and degenerated in the same proportion as the agitation of water declines from the precise spot where it was first disturbed. Were we to examine the refinements of the East as a criterion to judge of those of the borders of the continent, next to England, we should be compelled to acknowledge, from the testimony of many authors, that they were absolutely lost and forgotten by the Cimmerians and Celts, as the inhabitants of that part of Europe were termed. These nations, influenced by the most turbulent and savage propensities, were the terror of their neighbours; who, however, at length contrived to reduce their numbers, and confine them within the peninsula of Jutland.

It has been supposed, by some of our own writers, that learning, civilization, and the arts originating in the East, were not to be imputed to the orientality or the action of the Sun; but to the circumstance of man having been first placed there, according to the position of Europe. Sir Walter Raleigh fixes upon the Mountains of Ararat for the precise spot on which the ark rested; whence the qualities above mentioned at length reached our quarter of the globe. Sir Thomas

Thomas Browne thinks that the progression was perceptible; but that a long period elapsed ere our Island obtained these blessings. "For notwithstanding the learning of Bards and Druids of elder times, he that shall peruse that work of Tacitus, 'De Moribus Germanorum,' may easily discern how little civility two thousand years had wrought upon that nation. The like he may observe concerning ourselves, from the same author, in the 'Life of Agricola.' And more directly from Strabo; who, to the dishonour of our predecessors and the disparagement of those that glory in the antiquity of their ancestors, affirmeth, the Britons were so simple, that though they abounded in milk they had not the artifice of cheese."

Several circumstances occur which lead to a fair inference, that a part of the above-mentioned nations entered England; and as their manners come within the intention of this work, it will be proper to say that they dwelt in cells excavated in the earth, and that their customs were exactly correspondent with the savage state of their mental faculties. It is probable that tradition led them into a kind of patriarchal government, formed of the most admired member of any given number of relations, or in the manner of the clans in Scotland, though infinitely less sociable in the compact. Discord, the constant companion of man, and envy united with avarice and ambition, made it impossible that each family should remain in-

 dependent;

dependent; contests for property, accumulated by the industrious and coveted by the idle, naturally excited personal and mixed combats, as a sense of justice or partiality suggested, which were fomented by the ambitious; whence proceeded individual power and tyranny. Families united on either side of any question, and separate states were thus produced. The uncivilized and ferocious state of the Cimbri, as described by the Roman writers, makes their account of the females probable; who are mentioned by them as performing the rites of priestesses, and sacrificing the captives made by their husbands, fathers, and sons, and drawing inferences of good or ill fortune from the flowing of their blood, and the motions of their intestines: besides assisting in the operations of the field of battle by rushing through the ranks, hurling around them burning brands. Admitting this specimen of their customs to be correct, there is nothing disgusting or vile in human nature that may not be imputed to these first inhabitants of England.

At some period of the history of this Island the Phœnicians discovered that it contained the means of promoting their commerce by the exportation of tin. This enterprising people visited it frequently; and endeavoured, through a spirit of monopoly, to keep the continent of Europe in ignorance of the fact. How they effected their purpose to any extent requires a better solution than

than that given by Strabo; who says, that the Phœnicians of Cadiz contrived that the pilots of their vessels, bound to England, should cause the stranding of any Roman bark discovered in the act of tracing their destination; because, we must then suppose the merchants of Gaul, trading to Britain, destitute of the least information as to the state of the country, and the inhabitants incapable of communication. Both these ideas must necessarily be fanciful: even the first invaders, the Cimmerians, knew the art of navigation, or they could not have reached the opposite shores of England at the narrowest point of the channel. But if they came from any of the more Northern parts of the continent, their skill must have been proportionably greater; and surely equal to the performance of a coasting voyage quite round the island. If then this barbarous race were thus far advanced in maritime knowledge, why should we imagine the Gauls were ignorant that England was not a continent, particularly as the British Isles are said to have been known to the Greeks and Carthaginians? Such are the notices certain writers give us of the earliest state of our community. The Romans, according to others, were destitute of the least knowledge concerning us; and, consequently, the majority of mankind. Cæsar, however, had contrived to obtain some intimation of the advantages likely to arise from our subjection; and, proceeding methodically, assembled

bled the most intelligent merchants of Gaul, from whom he procured the means of accomplishing his purpose; and many particulars of the habits of the people, of which he made a profitable use in his subsequent invasion. With the mere military art we have nothing to do in the present case, further than to observe, that some of the states or provinces existing here at that period deputed ambassadors to deprecate the vehemence of the tyrant: thus establishing a custom but seldom departed from since that time. "Cæsar's Commentaries" being unquestionably the source most to be depended upon in tracing the earliest habits of our ancestors, I cannot do better than have recourse to them for those illustrations which they afford; adding further information from contemporary writers.

This Roman found a community of priests in England which have obtained the term of Druids; but why, or whence, they had that term, cannot now be ascertained: neither is it by any means possible to discover how, or at what earlier period, they received the implicit submission paid them by their countrymen. Reasoning from analogy, we may venture to suppose the origin of this particular order of priesthood was derived from the superior abilities of some one person, who had his peculiar opinions, and the ability and powers of oratory necessary to make proselytes. Numerous instances might be given, from comparatively

modern

modern history, of adventurers who have founded sects, and given them their names. Leaving farther conjectures on this subject to those who feel disposed to entertain them, it is certain that Cæsar discovered the Druids engaged in the double employment of the Priest and the Civilian; and themselves governed by an arch-priest, or president, whose place was supplied after death by the next in merit, or by a majority of votes. The official, thus appointed, had many privileges: he was exempt from personal service in war, paid no tribute, and had an immunity of all things. It is remarkable that in this particular their office strongly resembled that of the Levites, the most antient order of priests upon record.

All authors, antient and modern, seem agreed, that the original form of government of every people in the known world has been monarchical. That it was the custom of the first inhabitants of this island either to elect, or have hereditary or usurping Kings, Cæsar convinces us by the facts and particulars he relates of them. Those Kings were, however, very different from Kings of later date; for as their subjects were little better than savages, so the government became alternately weak and coercive, as circumstances dictated. Besides, the Druids possessed a plenitude of power, which often infringed upon that of the King, who was, probably, a mere cypher; except in the capacity of a general in chief of all military

operations.

operations. And even in this case the Priesthood interfered with auguries, and inflicted punishments upon such of the troops as did not perform their duty. Whence it appears that, in reality, the Druids were the supreme council of each state; making the few laws which connected society, and, perhaps, partially enforcing them by means of the monarch.

Disputes respecting property, whether landed or personal, which terms we are not to accept precisely in their present signification, were decided by the Druids: and this brotherhood pronounced sentence upon the commission of all crimes. From which we may infer, that the excellence of the trial by jury was felt and appreciated in England, even before its inhabitants possessed the art of conveying their knowledge to their posterity by writing or sculpture. Excommunication, the last resort for contumacy at present, was inflicted on the incorrigible; but not, perhaps, exactly in the modern form: as, it appears, the person offending was only denied the liberty of attending their sacrifices; than which a greater punishment could not be devised in the opinion of the Briton: the contempt of his neighbours was a natural consequence, which, in itself, operated to deprive him of other rights.

In some farther assertions respecting the Druids, the Commentator seems to have been misinformed; or, more probably, his work has been interpolated;

interpolated; particularly those parts respecting the Greek characters used by the Druids. That they had some characters to express their ideas, there is no good reason to doubt; and they may have resembled the Grecian; but it is impossible to conceive why they declined committing their history or morals to writing; when, in their public and private accounts, they made use of the letters in question. According to Cæsar, the Druids established schools, and taught the youth they assembled to recite *verses* from memory; a task which occupied them *twenty years*. Unfortunately, it may be pretty safely asserted, that not a trace of inscription can be exhibited at present, which is of genuine Druidical origin. Indeed, the rude stones attributed to their erection seem to evince more the greatness of their conceptions, than their abilities in executing them.

It was, doubtless, customary to pay the King some tribute for the support of his family and regal state. Before the invention of a medium of metal, or any other substance as money, cattle and the produce of the earth were presented to him: but in what proportion, as to the means of individuals, we are totally unacquainted. Judging from the unsettled state of society, his limited power, and disability to reward in return to any extent, makes it at least problematical whether his revenue exceeded his absolute necessities. We are well aware that even Kings, circumscribed as

ours

ours must have been by the Druids, might sometimes gain the affection of the armed multitude by leading them to a successful predatory war, when whatever spoils were obtained were distributed to the Prince and that multitude as they chose to agree, independent and in defiance of the authority exercised in other respects by the Druids. And in this point of view we may discern the cause of the decline of their power; for, as the ability of the prince to distribute wealth increased, the people were willing to barter even their freedom for it. By these, and perhaps other unknown causes, we find that Caractacus had accumulated a variety of splendid articles, which were displayed with him at Rome, to increase the honour of his capture. But long before that period, money had been coined by the British princes; and, no doubt, with much profit to themselves.

Such were the general forms of this species of Government; which, as it afterwards prevailed in Brittany, some writers suppose was adopted there from England, rather than from thence to England. We may infer from Cæsar, that the husband had the power of sacrificing his wife to his just or unjust resentments. The wife of a chief was subject on the decease of her consort, upon suspicion of violence, to a cruel examination, instituted by his relations; who tortured her servants for evidence, and, on a supposed confirma-

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tion of guilt, consigned her to a lingering death by fire. Sir Edward Coke attributes the law existing in England for burning a woman who kills her husband to this very antient custom. On other and important occasions they were honoured and consulted, even in matters belonging to their wars and alliances. Amongst their prejudices, they conceived it unlawful to eat either hares, geese, or hens, which they entertained and fed as we now do the cat or dog, for our amusement.

With respect to the customs established generally throughout each little community, those respecting the preservation of property to individuals must have been nearly uniform throughout the world. That which was raised or made by a man was his own, even according to the most irrational ideas of the human race. As to the extent of district for cultivation in each family, agreement in the first instance, and possession in the sequel, secured it to their descendants. Exchanges, or purchases of some description, followed of necessity; either through unavoidable failures, or to supply luxurious fancies.

The Druids are said to have kept their code of laws confined to their own breasts; dispensing them from that, and not an established written source, though not ignorant of the use of letters. Policy, it is true, might suggest this mode of increasing their consequence; but it is strange that the antient literati of Rome have not preserved

served a trace of their written thoughts, if merely as an object of curiosity. When legislation became in some degree understood, we cannot hesitate in admitting that every mode was adopted for securing the produce of the earth, by such prohibitions and penalties as were suited to the habits of the times. Some of our writers assert, the latter were taken by the injured party from the live stock of the offender in prescribed portions. Theft, probably, received immediate corporal punishment originally; when detection followed the commission of the act, farther refinement required that impartial examination should precede it.

Although the form of swearing differed in the various diminutive states of England, yet they all agreed in appealing to their divinities on solemn occasions. The Welsh went farther, and required a certain number of compurgators, who were to attest the truth of any assertion upon oath. Cæsar says, we, in common with the Gauls, employed the torture in particular cases to extort the truth; and, all other evidence failing, recourse was had to divinations, and a species of ordeal.

One circumstance mentioned by Pliny, and corroborated by a recent discovery, establishes the fact, that, although we knew nothing of the art of cheese-making, Commerce, or some other means, had procured our chiefs gold for ornament. That author says they wore rings, and circlets of gold

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on their limbs; and the discovery alluded to, consisted of bracelets and anklets of that valuable metal which may have been worn by some chief who lost his life on the borders of the sea in defence of his country against the Romans, on their first landing near Dover. The information we have on this head is very imperfect, as is that relating to the mode of living of the general mass of the people. Their habitations were, probably, very small; but whether they were invariably of wood, and thatched, or covered with reeds, is problematical; as but little art was required to construct huts of loose stones and mud. That they were situated in the midst of woods, proceeded from two causes; ignorance of agriculture, and of the means of clearing a country effectually: and yet, granting that they raised corn, both must in some degree have been understood, as we well know wheat will not grow amongst underwood, and on places shaded by trees. We are not informed how they used their grain; whether it was made into any thing like bread, eaten raw, or prepared by fire: their method of preserving it was by putting it into subterraneous receptacles, in the ear, and threshing it daily as they wanted it. Now it appears doubtful to the author of this work, whether any possible means could be contrived to prevent wheat thus circumstanced from becoming absolutely mouldy and decayed, and utterly unfit for food, certainly for seed, in

our humid climate. And this very instance seems fatal to the credibility of the whole superstructure of British manners and customs erected by their invaders, except where no self-evident contradictions exist; one of which occurs in their blindness as to all the arts of domestic comfort, opposed to the refinement of armed chariots.

It is certainly a gratifying reflection, that whatever other deficiencies Cæsar may have found in the manners of our nation, want of courage was not of the number; the people acting, in this instance at least, with one impulse, and, implicitly following their chiefs, appeared in dread array upon the cliffs, and convinced the Romans they were not to be subdued without a struggle. Such was the effect of this display of British fortitude on their enemies, that they hesitated, and would, perhaps, have refused to disembark, had not a standard-bearer leaped into the surf alone, and thus compelled the soldiers to follow through very shame. Although military tactics were extremely different from those of the present day, and the English might be supposed to fight on terms of some equality through many causes, yet such were the consequences of method and experience that the invaders prevailed for the time. A forced peace ensued; but a favourable opportunity offering, our countrymen surprized a strong foraging party, and with so much success that it required all the address of Cæsar to save his troops. He, however,

however, soon after retaliated, defeated his opponents, and compelled them again to sue for peace. Cæsar left England after a stay of no more than three weeks; and as he afterwards returned with a much larger force, we may conclude his losses were severe, and equal to preventing the possibility of his passing the winter in England.

A people so little improved as the British were by social intercourse naturally separated, and became hostile to each other. It had been their constant custom to meet as rivals and enemies in the field, in communities, or petty states; but a common enemy appearing, who would oppress them all if not resisted, they perceived the necessity of uniting, as far as circumstances would permit, for the general defence. A prince who governed the district including Herts, Bedfordshire, and Buckinghamshire, named Casibelanus, eminent for his skill and courage, was unanimously chosen General of the confederacy; and exhibited so much spirit and address in his opposition to the legions of Cæsar, on his second invasion, that he soon became convinced he had to contend with a people who, though at enmity when left to themselves, were not to be disunited by any thing short of the most prompt and decisive measures. Casibelanus, true to his country, exerted all the courage and conduct to be expected from a chief who knew nothing of foreign tactics; but he found at length that his soldiers and their leaders

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became careless and disaffected: they were consequently defeated. He therefore determined to concentrate the best of his troops, and with them harass the Romans at every favourable opportunity, which he did for some time successfully, though frequently interrupted by the schemes of his countrymen; who had, in many cases, made terms with the invader. In the midst of these difficulties Cassibelanus formed the plan of attacking the depositary of the hostile fleet, and destroying it; which seemed practicable from the slight guard left for its protection. In this he was disappointed by the destruction of the party to which the enterprise was entrusted. Thus, deserted and hopeless, he was induced to negotiate with Cæsar; who, soon after, left England with all his army, taking with him hostages for the payment of a tribute, and some prisoners. Every circumstance attending these two distinct operations on the part of the Romans, serves to exalt the character of our ancestors; as it requires neither argument nor reasoning to prove the courage and address necessary to prevent greater success on the part of the legions of the Mistress of the rest of the world.

The terrors of invasion were experienced at several periods between the retreat of Cæsar and the reign of Claudius; but those were excited principally to secure the payment of the tribute. In the year 43 a seditious exile from England, the

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base and infamous Bericus, prevailed upon the Emperor to revenge *his* quarrel by a descent upon England, though not expressly stating that to be his reason for urging it. Aulus Plautius, an experienced general, and 50,000 men were sent upon this expedition, and landed without opposition. Caractacus and Togodumnus, the sons of the great British Prince Cunobelin, not long before deceased, were the only chiefs who determined to resist the enemy; which they were prevented from doing with the least effect through the interference of Bericus, who conducted the Romans where the connivance of his friends rendered them assistance, and enabled them successively to defeat the brothers. Still farther efforts made on the side of our countrymen almost turned the fortune of war in their favour, and compelled Plautius to demand the presence of the Emperor to complete his difficult task. Thus the hardy natives of our Island had the honour of contending, on their own ground, with two Romans celebrated for their victories and triumphs over other states. Having established the fact, of the early innate courage of our ancestors, I shall not proceed to other transactions of this or subsequent wars, which belong to a different description of work from the present. But it would be unpardonable in the author, were he to omit the tribute due to the memory of the brave Caractacus; a chief equally skilful and courageous

with his celebrated opponents. This determined patriot, aware of the advantages arising from a favourable position of his troops, at one time entrenched himself on a steep and nearly inaccessible mountain, supposed to be Caer Carador in Shropshire, at the base of which a river deep and rapid in its progress flowed, and seemed to offer an insuperable barrier to the Romans in their approach to his camp. There he waited for the enemy; on whose appearance he arranged his army in order of battle; and, passing through the ranks, he painted to his men the horrors and shame of defeat and servitude, and the glory to be derived from a determined imitation of the bravery of their ancestors. Inspired by the valour of their General, the troops swore to conquer or perish—a resolution they maintained against the fierce assaults of the enemy till they stormed the very last lines on the summit of the mountain, when, farther resistance becoming impracticable, the brave Britons fled with great slaughter. The wife, sons, and daughter, of Caractacus were made prisoners: the Prince escaped for the moment, but was soon afterwards surrendered in chains to the conquerors by the detestable Cartismandua, Queen of the Brigantes, the mother of his wife. Nine years had elapsed in the most vigorous and spirited efforts made by Caractacus against his enemies: they therefore resolved to exhibit him in triumph at the Court of Rome, in the grand procession

procession usual on such occasions. An opportunity has been afforded us by Tacitus, to illustrate the manners of this great Prince on a trial as severe as human nature is subject to. Of all the captives who accompanied their chief, he alone preserved his fortitude, and approached the throne of Claudius with a firm and manly air of unimpeached honour. Addressing the Emperor, he observed, that had his moderation been equal to his birth and prosperity, he had then entered Rome as a visitor, and not as a captive. He confessed his situation to be humiliating in proportion to the Emperor's success: said he lately possessed the resources of his subjects, and enquired why he should not attempt to preserve them? or what reason existed against the wish of a nation to resist his aim at universal monarchy? Had he submitted without opposition, his own lustre would have been diminished, and that of the Romans less conspicuous. He concluded by saying, if Claudius decreed his death, he should soon be consigned to oblivion; but if, on the contrary, he granted him his life, that act would remain a durable monument of his clemency. Fascinated by the manner of the vanquished hero, Claudius commanded his chains to be removed, and pardoned him. The circumstances which immediately followed, all served to prove the importance the Romans attached to this victory, and its consequences; and those all con-

tributed to exalt the character of this our admirable countryman; whose want of success was evidently caused by the custom of his people in fighting, and not by any deficiency of courage. The English began their combats with tremendous shouts and showers of darts; the Romans, knowing these to be their principal means of offence, advanced with their shields in the form of the testudo, and, having closed with their enemy, made dreadful havock with their javelins and swords on the defenceless bodies of the English, who wore no kind of armour.

A contrast to the exalted nature of Caractacus existed in the instance of the Queen already mentioned as his betrayer. This Cartismandua was a disgrace to our countrywomen; a wanton, and in every respect infamous. Unfortunately her rank and power has transmitted her name to posterity as one who did not scruple to marry Venusius, prince of the Huicci, and, subsequently, Vellocatus, her armour-bearer. The former, who possessed many of the excellent qualities of the unhappy Caractacus, was rejected for the favourite gallant: and she had the effrontery to declare Vellocatus King—an act which exasperated the majority of her subjects into a determination of supporting Venusius in his rights, into whose hands she was very near falling when she invited and obtained the assistance of the Romans. Thus the licentious manners of the Queen involved the

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nation in a new war, which we have the satisfaction of knowing terminated in her expulsion from the throne, and the restoration of Venusius: a fact which establishes the existence of a general sense of the propriety of moral conduct in the people.

The year 61 presented the Romans with a new spectacle, which is illustrative of our early customs. Anglesey was then the residence of the Arch-druid of the Britons, where many enemies of the Roman government had fled as an asylum from their oppression. Suetonius Paulinus, who presided in England, thought proper to attack this settlement; and, invading it, his troops beheld opposed to them, not only an army of soldiers, but a second, though far less numerous, of women, who with disordered hair rushed backwards and forwards with flaming torches; while numbers of priests uttered vehement imprecations against the disturbers of their peace. Surprised, and more than half terrified by this strange exhibition, the Romans would have retired, had not their officers perceived that little exertion was necessary to disperse the zealots and armed men; which was soon verified by the advance of the Romans, whose victory was disgraced by the burning of the Druids with the wood of their own groves.

The impossibility of separating the manners and usages of London from the general history of

of the country, in this stage of my work, makes it necessary to say something on that head. The absence of Suetonius, for the purpose of subduing the refugees in Anglesey, induced the inhabitants of England to think a favourable opportunity now offered of recovering their liberty; and, meeting with partial success, Suetonius lost not a moment in regaining London, not then honoured with the title of a colony, but large and populous; the inhabitants of which, dreading the miseries of war, entreated the Roman commander to defend them, but in vain; as he was well aware he had a better prospect of success in the field. The celebrated Boadicea, queen of the Iceni, had by this period displayed so much courage and conduct, that she was implicitly followed by crowds of her countrymen; who, led by her, entered London, where an indiscriminate massacre took place, equally cruel and unjustifiable, and only paralleled by those of Camalodunum and Verulamium. Constantly reinforced by multitudes, Boadicea soon found herself mistress of the fortunes of 230,000 men. With an army so enormous, she conceived it impossible the Romans, though brave and well disciplined, should even face her troops with only 10,000 men. Suetonius, convinced of the difficulties of his situation, took measures to secure a position calculated to render a small army effective against greatly superior numbers, which he completely succeeded

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in accomplishing, by forming his men in a deep valley, with inaccessible sides, and a wood in their rear. Boadicea, arrayed in full regal splendour, seated in a chariot with her two daughters at her feet, drove through the ranks of her followers, and, relating the cruelties she had experienced, and those suffered by her offspring, exhorted them to confide in their own strength and the weakness of the enemy; adding, that she was resolved to conquer or die free, whatever might be their determination. The signal for battle having been given, each army fought according to the custom of their respective nations; and with a similar effect to that experienced in the case of Caractacus. Unable to bear the reverse, the high-spirited Boadicea terminated her existence by poison.

As the only authorities we possess, relating to the disposition and propensities of the natives, are those of their conquerors and oppressors; such authorities should be rejected, had we it in our power to supply their places. The Roman writers agree in describing them as muscular and handsome; but proud, vindictive, boastful, and satirical; rashly courageous and vain, and extremely outrageous when intoxicated. Indeed, they assert, that in the blind pursuits of their rage, they would not fly from a falling house, an inundation, or the most immediate prospect of death; and this latter part of their character is

confirmed

confirmed by their constant resistance of their enemies, under every disadvantage; and the charge of more deliberate cruelty, by the massacres of Boadicea. Admitting each of these bad qualities to have existed in the degree stated, it will appear, on reflection, that they were the natural consequences of the Roman invasion. Every hateful passion of the human soul was excited, and the extirpation of their enemies became the favourite wish of the whole community. When time had softened this propensity, the virtues began to resume their stations in the breasts of the Britons; and they were found to be frank and generous, docile and hospitable. Giraldus Cambrensis gives a very pleasing idea of the reception of strangers by our countrymen: nothing produced them greater pleasure, which they expressed by entertaining them with the musick of the times, and the best fare they possessed; at their departure presents were exchanged, to perpetuate the memory of the visit.

The same author mentions, that it was the custom of families to inhabit a large hut or house, which, having a fire in the midst, served to warm them in the day, and to sleep around in the night upon rushes. This peculiarity, it is supposed, induced Cæsar and others to imagine the females of it were not appropriated to individuals in marriage, but lived in common with the males: an idea that is refuted by the general indignation

dignation excited by the conduct of Cartismandua already mentioned. The faithful affection of the youth to their parents and near relatives, and the fidelity exhibited to their favourite chiefs, were most pleasing parts of their character, and palliated, in some degree, the propensity to idleness with which Tacitus charges them, and that of proneness to intoxication mentioned by Diodorus Siculus.

Many inferences relating to the manners of the people might be collected from authors who have written the early history of neighbouring states; but this is at best an uncertain method of judging of them: indeed, as much may be imagined by attentively considering the general situation of the nation, as will serve to prove they were not distinguished by any very brilliant conceptions resembling modern propriety. In the article of Marriage, the agreement of the parties and their friends, and the exchange of presents in the manner of a dowry, were all that seemed necessary. Whether their Druids interfered, by incantations or blessings, can only be conjectured. As arms and agriculture were for a long time the sole pursuits of the male population, the portion of the female consisted, in all probability, of military weapons, horses, cattle, corn, and farming utensils, such as they then were: the presents, on the other hand, must have been principally the favourite ornaments of the day. It seems

almost

almost superfluous to add, that the domestic concerns fell to the share of the woman; who may besides have assisted at least in agricultural pursuits, while the males of her family were plundering their neighbours, or resisting their incursions. Judging from the customs of other uncivilized persons, we may safely conclude, that many expedients were adopted to render the children of each marriage vigorous and hardy; and indeed their very manner of living contributed to this end. Inured to every change of the season from their infancy, bathing and temporary exposure, the present methods adopted for that purpose, were superseded. Accident, no doubt, frequently produced the former, and unrestrained freedom the latter. At all times, and in all kinds of weather, when Nature had granted the youth the full use of his limbs, little was required on the part of the parent to induce him to use them in all the sports common to that stage of life. When they were strong enough to assist in the chace, numberless opportunities were afforded to turn their eagerness to military purposes, in ambush, and the best mode of annoyance, without the risk of personal injury. It has been already mentioned, that the Druids initiated them into the learning of the time.

The perfection of the human system must depend greatly upon the nature of the food which supports it. Every authority we possess demon-

strates,

strates, by analogy, that animals were eaten by our ancestors; but that they were cannibals, or devourers of the flesh of their own species, cannot be admitted beyond the possibility of their indulging in similar savage triumphs over their vanquished enemies, related in one or two solitary instances by Captain Cook. There is something so disgusting in the idea of eating raw meat, that we must indulge in the hope, that the Britons dressed their meals from the earliest page of history: the Roman authors declare, that they boiled, roasted, and broiled, at the period of their invasion; nor were they ignorant of the means of making a horrid dirty salt, with which they preserved their food. Many vegetables are still eaten raw, and all were perhaps so eaten by the Britons.

Water was unquestionably the original beverage of man; milk probably the first mixture with it; then the juices of plants, or the saps of trees. Infusions or extracts of grain seem the result of thought and experience: some of the liquids thus composed will produce fermentation merely by standing after combination; and hence followed the system of brewing; but who shall venture to fix the period when beer, ale, &c. superseded similar delicate compositions with that of the cava bowl? Pliny mentions a mixture of corn juices and water with which the Western natives of Europe intoxicated themselves: those of our own island could not have known the use

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of wine till commerce was in some degree matured. Nature required what we term a breakfast soon after the cessation of sleep; and as all men rose early, it is rational to suppose, that something like a regular meal took place in each family: whether other meals followed in an equally regular manner, is at least doubtful; though it is asserted, that the day closed with one. Some of the smaller weapons used in war might serve to separate their food; but the fingers and teeth were principally concerned in this operation. Plates of some sort held their meat, which were supported by stools; and each individual sat on the ground. Feasts were frequently given.

Many incontrovertible proofs still exist of the manner in which the antient Britons disposed of their dead. The barrows of England have been too often explored to render a description of the state of their contents necessary: whole families are known to have been inhumed together; and the spear-heads and stone weapons found with them shew their mode of fighting. Ornaments, consisting of beads and bracelets, and anklets even of pure gold, are sometimes found in these vaults, formed of rude stones, and covered with earth. The Romans, it may be imagined, effected a considerable change in this particular: their mode of burning their dead was unquestionably continued in England, as the urns and lachrymatories, and their sepulchral inscriptions,

are discovered in every direction; but whether the custom prevailed before or long after the period when they evacuated the country, cannot be decidedly ascertained, though probability seems against the supposition that it did. In those cases where imitation was easy, it is not unlikely that the Britons were very nearly assimilated to the Romans; it is however evident, that when thought and practice were equally required, it was far otherwise.

In thus noticing the arts and customs described as peculiar to this first æra of our habits, we cannot forget the contradictions discoverable in the accounts transmitted to us; in which we may trace connexion of facts, embellished with such fictions as were calculated to enhance the value of the conquests made in England in the ideas of the people of Rome and its dependencies. For instance, the habitations of the natives are said to have been similar to those of the Germans, or deep caves dug into the earth, where they resided, surrounded by their provisions for the winter, almost wholly concealed from casual view, and suffocated with smoke. When the summer approached, those dungeons were abandoned; and they constructed huts, composed of stakes driven into the ground, and interwoven with branches of trees on the sides and top. The people of Kent derived from Gaul the improvement of filling the intervals of the branches with mud,

mud, and whitening it with chalk. To suppose men thus situated capable of planning streets and towns, would be ridiculous; nor doth it appear that, even after they had substituted beams for stakes, and wattles and straw for a roof of branches and leaves, they thought of the convenience and regularity of a city, for which we are certainly indebted to the Romans. In all the above particulars, we perceive a regular system of detail, suited to the savage state of man; and these are every way probable: nor can it be denied that Cæsar pronounced the truth, when he asserted he found the inhabitants of the interior clothed in skins, and those parts of their bodies which were exposed stained with woad producing a blue tint, and ornamented (if such figures as they were capable of executing deserved the term) with beasts, birds, &c. Here again we find a strong resemblance of the rude customs of other uncivilized nations, described under the word *tattowing*.

Now, although our countrymen were actually discovered in this state of debasement, we are not to imagine that their intellects were equally imperfect with the performances of their hands. It is well known, that savages possess the most sublime conceptions, and utter sentences unconsciously which are without a parallel in the more refined states of society: in short, they pronounce the genuine dictates of nature, and prove that art

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and contrivance often mar her conceptions. The savage never thinks; he that thinks hesitates, and is lost for the moment. Did the savage think, he would speak incorrectly till art had, in some degree, recovered his powers; and he would invent the conveniencies and embellishments of life. Some authors have been loud in their praises of the poetry of the antient Britons, nor shall I dispute its pretensions to superior excellence: on the contrary, I can readily imagine the energy and beautiful extravagance of their war-songs and songs of victory, because they were a species of sudden poetic inspiration, fearless of *criticism*, and not *polished* till meaning and spirit were expelled: but how are we to reconcile the above particulars with their long broad swords without points, suspended by a chain or belt round their shoulders, their short sharp-pointed daggers fixed in their girdles, their spears thrown and recovered again by means of a thong tied to them; with their balls of brass, containing pieces of metal fixed to one end, to terrify their enemies' cavalry in battle, mentioned by Herodian and Tacitus? Were all these invented, and the composition of brass known, by a people that were too ignorant to contrive a house? And no less than four species of chariots used, for domestic, agricultural, and warlike purposes, when the possessors of them had not sufficient art to discover any other clothing than dried skins? To shew this incredible

dible coalition of ignorance and refinement in its true light, I shall describe, first, the Benna, a carriage elevated on wheels calculated for carrying two persons through a country covered with wood, on such journeys as a state of perpetual war would permit: the second was the Petoritum, a vehicle with four wheels; the third, the Carrus, must have resembled our baggage-waggons, and were used for that purpose, besides the conveyance of produce: the fourth, or Covinus, surpassing all the others in its destructive construction, was the war-chariot set with scythes and hooks, intended to cut every thing down opposed to it, and *admirably calculated for a country abounding with thickets.* Enough has been said on this subject; and, having pointed out the contradictions, I shall leave them to the consideration of the reader.

According to Selden, "Julius Cæsar gave a *sight* of Britanny to posterity, rather than made a full discovery, or a delivery of it;" and in another part of his *Janus Anglorum*, speaking of authorities derived from inscriptions, he observes, "But you will say, all this makes little to our purpose: yes, very much; as that which brings from abroad the Roman orders, laws, fashions, and every thing, into Brittany. Near St. Albans, a town in Hertfordshire, there was, sure enough, the seat of Cassibellinus, called Vetulam; and the burghers, as we learn from Agellius, were citizens of Rome enfranchised out of their corporations,

porations, using their own laws and customs, only partaking the same honorary privilege with the people of Rome."

Justin Lipsius informs us, that the Romans were in the constant practice of arranging their conquests after their manners and customs: they appointed three experienced persons to divide the ground for the colony, and to fix the place for the erection of towns, which were in all particulars to resemble Rome; "and that in the very places themselves, the courts of law, the capitols, the temples, the state-houses, or town-halls, might be according to that model; and that there might be in the government or magistracy two persons as bailiffs, in most places, like the two consuls at Rome; in like manner, surveyors and scavengers, aldermen of the wards and headboroughs, instead of a senate or common council, as we may call it."

We should be guilty of great injustice did we not acknowledge the benefits derived by our partial subjection to the Romans, several of which are enumerated in the above extracts: besides, we are expressly informed, that some of the governors exerted every nerve in civilizing the people, and teaching them the arts, and a more rational mode of living than they were before accustomed to. The luxury and splendour prevailing in Rome must have formed so strong and disgusting a contrast with the habits of the English, that we feel no surprise the conquerors attempted to render

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their own situation more pleasant, by introducing their manner of building, in temples, palaces, capitols, houses, &c. So much is already known of the manners and customs of the Romans, that I need say nothing of them here: it will be sufficient to remind the reader of the remains of that people discovered in every direction, which must convince him that powerful excitements to imitation existed; and a slight knowledge indeed of human nature is required, to produce a conviction that the young and the rich of our natives soon became as luxurious and important as the chiefs of the invaders; but it must be at the same time remembered, that part of the population preferred liberty and the savage life to slavery and the arts, and consequently were never more than half civilized, even when a temporary peace, or temporary subjection, caused an intercourse with their enemies. Dr. Henry says, "The useful and necessary art of architecture suffered no less than that of agriculture by the departure of the Romans. That ingenious and active people, with the assistance of their British subjects, who were instructed by them, had adorned their dominions in this island with a prodigious number of elegant and magnificent structures, both for public and private use. Some of these structures were built with so much solidity that they would have resisted all the attacks of time, and remained to this very day, if they had not been wilfully destroyed."

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This, however, seems all speculation: every species of building common in Italy was imitated here; but certainly not erected in the durable manner asserted; the Saxons destroyed them, and very effectually, as we are convinced: how, then, was this accomplished, if they built in England as they did in Rome? That city was sacked *seven* times, and yet numerous noble structures remain there; while not six are to be found in this country, where only *one* torrent of destruction prevailed. It is evident that they did not build here as at home, let the materials have been what they may; a sufficient reason for which existed in the distance of the colony, its insular situation, and the determined opposition of its inhabitants. The old brick wall at Leicester seems to have been one of the strongest of the Roman works.

Many of the customs which were common to our ancestors are now almost forgotten in London: amongst those may be included the Funeral Feast, which certainly originated from the *cœna feralis* of the Romans, or the offering made to the manes of the deceased, consisting of wine, milk, and honey, united in a small plate decorated with flowers. When the public mind became more enlightened, it naturally occurred to the attendants on funeral ceremonies, that the living had equally urgent demands for food, which was provided, probably, at first, merely to satisfy the calls of nature; but this, like all other customs,

degenerated; and sensuality intruded where grief and solemnity ought to have presided. In the country, it was perfectly excusable to furnish persons who had assembled from a considerable distance with a substantial meal; but the Londoners became sensible, in process of time, that indulgence on such occasions was almost impious; hence, cakes and wine now supply the place of the "funeral baked meats."

Keeping of Wassel was another method of celebration, which, though more peculiar to a country life, must have been common, in early times, in London. Mr. Douce is of opinion, that the origin of the term belongs to the tale of Vortigern and Rowena. W. Cennius relates, that on the first introduction of that lady to Vortigern, she kneeled, and, presenting him a cup of wine, said, "Lord King, *wacht heil*;" health be to you. The king, ignorant of the Saxon language, enquired the purport of her words; was informed, and told to return the compliment with *drinc heil*, which he did, commanding Rowena to drink; he then took the cup, kissed, and pledged her. Robert of Gloucester says, this custom prevailed in the third century. At all events, Mr. Douce asserts, no word equivalent to our *wassel* is to be found in any of the Teutonic dialects. Steevens and Malone say, that the wassel bowl was more particularly in use at Christmas. The term was afterwards enlarged in its signification,

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and implied general intemperance: when the common people were in the habit of carrying the bowl from house to house, in order to collect money: the materials which filled the bowl were spiced wine or ale, with roasted apples and sugar, mead or metheglin. A particular species of bread, called the wassel bread, was eaten with the above liquid, according to some antiquaries. Mr. Douce, however, quotes a statute, 51 Hen. III. which appears to establish the fact, that the white bread *well baked*, so termed, was in use at all seasons; and other reasons induce the same gentleman to suppose it was a kind of cake, or probably biscuit. There were also wassel songs sung at Christmas by itinerant minstrels. Drinking of healths, which is the only trace we have in London of the antient wassel, is but little practised at present; but in some parts of the country the custom bears a certain degree of resemblance to the original ceremony.

Very faint traces now exist of the antient practice of choosing Valentines; indeed, it is confined to the silly compositions of young people in the form of letters, many of which are known to be highly offensive to morality and decency; though the majority, it must be confessed, are equally unmeaning and absurd, and perfectly innocent. Antiquaries are inclined to imagine that this custom was derived from our Roman invaders, who practised the ceremony of drawing the names of young

young females by young men from a box—part of the rites of the Lupercalia, celebrated in the month of February, in honour of Juno and Pan. It has been farther supposed, that the early Christians continued the custom through motives of policy, and fixed upon the day dedicated to St. Valentine merely because it happened to suit the time. If this conjecture be correct, the term of *valentines* may be readily accounted for. During a long period, the day produced much interest amongst the unmarried part of the community.

The Northern inhabitants of England, the Scots and the Picts, were continually making incursions on the territories of the provincials, or those under the Roman government in their neighbourhood; who consequently requested protection, which the Mistress of the world was then nearly incapable of affording them, through the irruption of the Goths into Italy. Vortigern, Governor in Chief of the British provinces, hopeless of any other succour, sent to Germany for auxiliary troops, which, composed of Saxons, Angles, Jutes, and the natives of Friesland, poured in to his assistance ostensibly, but, treacherously, for their own immediate advantage; as the Romans soon perceived by their entering into a treaty with the Picts. Thus united, they turned their forces against the original intruders, and fairly forced themselves into the exclusive government of the country, or the Heptarchy

tarchy of England. Selden was inclined to think, that though these people appear to have consisted of several nations, "yet, in very deed, they were all of them none other but Saxons; a name at that time of a large extent in Germany." The arrival of this army was in the year 428.

We are in this period of our research to conjecture, that the manners of the oppressed Britons were, partly through force and partly through inclination, a compound of British, Roman, and Saxon. For this reason it will be necessary to give some of the leading features of the regulations of society amongst the latter people.

The infant Saxon was under the immediate care of its mother, till it had reached the seventh year of its age. Circumstances might occur, which rendered a nurse, or foster-mother, necessary; and there cannot be a doubt that the transfer was allowed by the custom of their society. When the father of a child died, the mother received an allowance for its support; and it is to be feared the barbarous practice of exposing children sometimes took place; as Wilkins mentions the sums allowed for rearing those unfortunate foundlings. Infant baptism by immersion was customary; the names given to their children at this period of their life were derived from some expressive source descriptive of the expected qualities of the party, and sometimes from circumstances connected with the birth, or personal appearance of the

the child. Surnames, or the appropriation of individuals to families or places, became absolutely necessary upon the increase of population: the Britons must have used them; we are certain the Romans did, and that the Saxons brought them into the country.

As to the general character of the Saxons, who invaded us through the folly already mentioned, it is said of them, that they were such adepts in the arts of plundering and devastation that each individual possessed the qualities necessary for a chief or the common soldier; therefore, every man acting upon one principle of rapine, all their efforts were equally voluntary and irresistible. The ferocious courage which naturally attended a society thus constituted, has often been celebrated; and yet the Saxon disdained not to depredate in the night, and feast on his spoils by day: a conduct by no means consonant with the noble and manly form by which he was distinguished, and was anxious to preserve. The weapons used by them were long spears, or javelins, small shields, swords, and knives.

That the Military Lords were distinguished by manners most ferocious and cruel, seems to be established beyond contradiction. In the reign of Edward the Confessor, two brothers, Earls Harold and Tosto, had an altercation at Windsor which terminated in blows. Tosto was beaten, and immediately retired to the Marches of Wales,

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where Harold resided, determined on revenge. The Castle was then in a state of preparation to receive the King; and the servants, consequently, numerous; those he massacred, and, with the malice and barbarity of a modern savage of the South Seas, cut some of them into pieces, which he salted, and, steeping other fragments in myrrh and wine, informed his brother, by message, that he had provided him with powdered meats against the arrival of the Monarch!

The Saxons, according to the best writers, were divided into four different classes; chiefs, or nobles, freemen by birth-right, freemen by emancipation, and slaves. It may be necessary to define the state of slavery in which part of the community was held. It was incurred by individuals in several ways; through debt, capture as prisoners of war, and by the commission of crimes. There were classes in servitude; the villans tilled their master's lands, and performed all the offices of agriculture, being, in every respect, subject to the mutation of those lands from one possessor to another: the domestic slaves did the work necessary in families, and executed, in many instances, mechanical employments. The only mitigation they appear to have experienced of their hard fate, originally depended upon two circumstances: if they were natives of the same country with their master, they could not be sent abroad; and if they were Christians, they could not be sold to a

Jew,

Jew, or a Pagan: in other respects, they were considered as absolute property, and their owners were not even fined for taking their lives. The only consolation we feel in reflecting upon the miserable state of these persons, arises from the knowledge that the diffusion of the Christian faith gradually relieved them, and emancipated numbers. Those who thus, or by other means, became freed men, must still have suffered in a state of dependence, through a sense of obligation, or gratitude to their former masters; and it is only to the third rank in this gradation that we can look with pleasure; the Ceorls, or farmers, who held lands of the Thanes, or nobles, and enjoyed the same degree of liberty our opulent agriculturists do at present, with the privilege of their sons choosing any profession they thought proper. When a youth felt a propensity to arms, he had the privilege of selecting some powerful noble as his patron; and if he signalized himself in battle, or pleased his lord by other services, he was rewarded with a portion of land, a suit of armour, and was considered as a Thane: to which title the Ceorl who farmed might attain by industry and œconomy; and, indeed, by commerce, or obtaining priest's orders, through superior learning. The consequence and authority of the nobility may be so well imagined, that it is useless to particularize their privileges.

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branches of society, their laws forbade either class to mix with another by marriage; but they subsequently relaxed in this particular.

One of their customs was extremely singular: when they commenced a war, they contrived to obtain a soldier of the nation implicated; and, matching him with one of their own, they compelled them to fight, till one was subdued; and thus they augured of the success, or the reverse, of the projected conflict.

When employed in council, the chiefs were permitted to give their sentiments on the subject in contemplation by persuasives only. If the arguments were approved of, the spears, and other weapons of the assembly, were struck together: opposition to them was announced by inarticulate noises. At these councils persons were appointed who were to administer justice in the hamlets and villages, assisted by an hundred associates, selected from the inhabitants of the district. Our best authors on the jurisprudence of England are of opinion, that the antient right of Wapentakes originated from the councils, and the Hundreds from the latter custom. They were a warlike people; and preserved that character by refusing to permit the assumption of arms before a stated period of life, when the youth received them from a parent, or relation, in full council. Previous to this ceremony, the young man was considered merely in the light of a member of his own family; but

but after it had taken place, he became a portion of the Common-wealth. An illustrious descent, or very important achievements in a father, procured his son the respect and consequence of a chief. In this instance we are still complete Saxons.

In the article of Marriage, the husband gave the wife part of his property as a settlement; the wife, on the other hand, according to some writers, went to her consort pennyless. If the latter violated her nuptial vow, the revenge of the husband was severe indeed; as the law permitted him to strip her, cut off her hair, turn her out from his residence in the presence of her relations, and beat her through the neighbourhood. Canute added, the privilege of cutting off her nose and ears. The females of more polished nations than the Saxon are not always restrained from the indulgence of criminal passion by the stigma which laxity of morals invariably produces in the community of which they are members; perhaps the Saxons were aware, that contempt alone was not sufficient to preserve the chastity of their wives, and therefore devised a custom horrible in itself, and detestable in its contrivers. What would our Crim. Con. females, and their dear friends, say to a law, which compelled the former to hang herself, and the latter to be executed over the burnt body or ashes of his victim; or to the savage practice of the women who drove the wanton from

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her home with whips, and, tearing her garments, plunged knives into her flesh till she expired, with terror, despair, and wounds. Strong, indeed, must have been the sense of female propriety possessed by this portion of our ancestors; and yet they permitted alliances which we hold to be extremely improper—the marriage of a son to his father's widow, and of brothers and sisters-in-law.

From these particulars it will be found, that the sense of the propriety of confining one man to one woman, was extremely strong and acute amongst the Saxons. It was the practice with these people to appoint a guardian to each female early in her life, whose power over her was considerable; nor could he be deprived of it without his own concurrence. In the first instance, the father acted as such; the brothers on his decease; and, in case neither of those relations were living, the cousins or uncles assumed the office; the widow passed under the care of the husband's male heir; and, finally, the King was guardian of all those who were destitute of the relatives already mentioned. No marriage solemnized without the consent of the guardian deprived him of the rights of guardianship: his consent might, however, be procured by a handsome present. When this important point was secured, the friends of the young man gave security that the ward should be properly treated and maintained

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by her intended husband. In opposition to Selden, Dr. Henry cites many ancient authorities to prove that the woman's friends and the witnesses of her nuptials, made the parties valuable presents, which may be considered equal to a fixed dower.

One excellent custom was established amongst the Saxons in the descent of property, which was, *bond fide*, to the children of the possessor; and this remained in force for a long period, with respect to land, except in some particular cases pleading exemption. In default of issue, brothers or uncles of the parents inherited. Another of their usages was diabolical, and this they termed a Deadly Feud; under which enmities were continued from generation to generation. The only feature tolerable in these feuds was that they might be appeased, even in cases of murder, by a present of cattle. Our fines and ventages may be traced to the Saxon practice of imposing on their tenants the payment of certain quantities of corn, cattle, &c.

The custom of calling this island England is thus mentioned by Selden: "Egbert, King of the West Saxons (I make use of Camden's words), having gotten in four kingdoms by conquest, and devoured the other two also, in hope that what had come under the government of one might likewise go under one name, and that he might keep up the memory of his own people, the Angles, he gave order, by proclamation, that the Heptarchy

Heptarchy which the Saxons had possessed should be called Engelond. John Carnotensis writes, that it was so called from the first coming in of the Angles; and another somebody says, it was so named from Hengist, a Saxon Prince."

Numerous laws of the Kings Ina, Alfred, Edward, Athelstan, Edmund, Edgar, Ethelred, and Knute, the Dane, were written in the Saxon language; the latter, according to William of Malmesbury, commanded that all those framed by preceding monarchs, particularly Ethelred, should be scrupulously observed, under pain of his displeasure and a heavy fine.

The learned Selden explains the origin of the word *neighbour*, which we are accustomed to use in a very different sense from that he assigns to it. *Friburg*, or *borgh*, signifies a surety; *fri* is free, in our language; a person giving his word for the propriety of conduct of another, and thus becoming his security, was said to have him in his *borgh*.

It is to be feared the information we derive on this head from Wilkins, Spelman, Ingulphus, and others, is rather too much inflated with speculation and fancied perfection. Those authors tell us, that these neighbours were connected by the most commendable and amiable ties; and, in the words of Dr. Henry, "they fought in one band in the day of battle, and often eat at one table in the days of peace." Dissensions on the

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latter occasions were punished by fining the offender: when any oppressions occurred, the neighbours united in obtaining redress; domestic losses of individuals were supplied by general presents; they supported each other in poverty, provided that misfortune *could happen* in a neighbourhood thus constituted. He that was incorrigible in offence was expelled, and became a perfect outcast; they mutually attended their customary celebrations, and, according to Togulphus, such were the general benefits of this system, that perfect tranquillity and security reigned throughout the land. The reader will judge for himself between these statements, and some preceding and succeeding them.

Polydore Vergil asserts, that Sheriffs were derived from the Norman conquest. "The Governors of Provinces, says Selden, who before were styled Deputy Lieutenants (we return to Togulphus and King Alfred), he divided into two offices; that is, into Judges, whom we now call Justices, and into Sheriffs, who do still retain the same name."

John Scot Erigena, or Duns Scotus, an advocate for the learning himself possessed, advised the reigning Monarch to promote the study of Letters, which was complied with: and an edict issued, compelling all freemen holding two hides of land, equal to two plough lands, or as much as one plough could be made to prepare for seed,

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in a year, each to keep their children close to that laudable pursuit till the age of fifteen.

"King Edgar, like a king of good fellows (adds Selden), or master of revels, made a law for Drinking. He gave orders that studs or knobs of silver or gold, so Malmesbury tells us, should be fastened to the sides of their cups or drinking-vessels, that, when every one knew his mark or boundary, he should, out of modesty, not either himself covet, or force another to desire, more than his stint." This is the only law before the first parliament under King James, that has been made against those swill-bowls,

Swabbers of drunken-feasts, and lusty rowers,
In full-brimm'd rummers that do ply their oars:

who by their carouses (tippling up Nestor's years as if they were celebrating the goddess *Anna Perenna*), do, at the same time, drink others healths, and mischief and spoil their own and the publick."

The Danes do not come under particular review in this place, as their manners differed but in a trifling degree from those of the neighbouring states of Germany. But, however the Britons may have been influenced by their domestic customs, we are very certain in their political they were treated as very slaves. Those followers of the fortune of Knute who remained with him in England were granted by that King a firm peace;

that

that is, if an Englishman killed a Dane, he was compelled to undergo the ordeal by fire and water; or, in other words, walk blindfolded through pieces of red hot iron, or vessels of water, so placed as to render it impossible for him to escape touching them; if touched, summary punishment followed.

If the party offending absconded, a fine of 60 marks was levied on the village or place where the murder occurred; and failing there, through his inability, it was recoverable from the King from the hundred.

The Saxons had their grants subscribed by faithful witnesses, which had been the custom in the time of King Arthur, if we are to credit John Price; who declares he ascertained the fact from a deed belonging to the church of Landaff. The names, till the days of Edward the Confessor, were accompanied by the impression of golden crosses, and other sacred emblems. Cedwalla, King of the South Saxons, made a conveyance to Theodore, archbishop of Canterbury, anno 687, in the following curious form:

"I, Cedwalla, have laid a turf of the land aforesaid upon the holy altar of my Saviour; and with my own hand, being ignorant of letters, have set down and expressed the mark or sign of the Holy Cross."

Selden translated the instrument for founding an abbey by Ethelbald king of the Mercians, to

Kenuloh

Kenulph abbot of Crowland; versified, as he observes, without "Apollo's consent or knowledge," by an antient poet; which, he says, "in rhyme doggrel, will run much after this hobling rate:

If any English vex this Kenulph, shall
I, King, condemn to me his chattels all.
Thenceforth, until my Monks he satisfy,
For damages, in prison, he shall lie.
Witnesses of this gift, here in God's sight,
Are English Peers and Prelates of my right.
Saint Guthlac, Confessor and Anchoret,
Lies here, in whose ears these words I speak; yet
May he pray for us, that most holy priest,
At whose tomb these my gifts I have address'd."

The preceding particulars relating to the state of society amongst the Anglo-Saxons, will enable the reader to form a tolerable idea of the domestic habits of this branch of our ancestry, who, it is probable, with the exception of the Thanes, did not exhibit much splendour of living as compared with our modern habits of life. The Kings, it is said, maintained an extensive household; consisting of a governor of the palace, always a person of the royal blood, whose province it was to superintend the conduct of those attached to the immediate presence of the Sovereign. The privileges of this officer were numerous; as were those of the King's priest, the next in rank to

the governor. Besides these there were, a steward, a master of the hawks, a judge of the household, a master of the horse, a chamberlain, a chief musician, a silentiary (an officer who enforced silence during the royal meals), a master of the huntsmen, a mead-maker, a physician, a butler, a porter, master cook, master of the lights, and several others, exclusive of some appropriated to the Queen. The peculiar provinces of the officers enumerated, are explained by the names of their offices: but there was one attached to the Welsh princes who had the title of the King's foot-bearer; and, if the "Leges Wallicæ" may be credited, he was literally so, by seating himself with his back to the fire, and cherishing the royal feet in his bosom, during meals.

Willielmus de Regibus relates an anecdote of Ethelburga which illustrates our very early history. Ive is said, by the writer just mentioned, to have appointed his cousin, Ethelardus, regent of his dominions, while he made a pilgrimage to Rome; which was caused by the piety and eccentricity of his consort, who had frequently endeavoured to convince the King of the necessity of providing for his future happiness, by rejecting the adulation, luxury, and embellishments of his regal state, and assuming that degree of humility which we are taught by religion to practise in every station of life. Failing in her attempts, she had recourse to the following stratagem: pre-

vailing

vailing with him to change his residence for a short time, she ordered all the apartments they had used to be deprived of their ornaments and hangings; in place of which every kind of defilement was introduced, even to the extent of entertaining a sow and her litter of pigs, in their private chamber: she then urged him to return, which he did, and beheld the palace in utter amazement. Ethelburga immediately said, "I pray you, my Lord, where be now these rich hangings and curtains, either for state or ornament? Where is all the glittering pomp and rich array, tending to nothing else save gluttony and luxury? Alas, how suddenly are they all vanished! Shall not, my Lord, this beauty of ours so fade, and this frail flesh even so fall away?" Surprized and affected, the pilgrimage took place; after which, we are told, he resigned his kingdom to his nephew, and retired to a monastery. Ethelburga, having accomplished her purpose, went to the abbey at Barking, where her sister had previously been Abbess.

William of Normandy, pretending a right to the throne of England, invaded this country in 1066, and obtained the Sovereignty by the battle of Hastings. This, then, is another æra; whence we are to date a change in the habits and customs of our country.

Amongst the other horrors attending the conquest of a nation, none is more distressing to the suffering

suffering party, than the insolent contempt they experience from their invaders. When the fatal battle of Hastings made the Normans masters of England, those people had not the generous feelings of admiration for unfortunate courage, which Alexander experienced for the family of Darius. It was not sufficient that conflagration, plunder, and violation, spread throughout the land, but indignity accompanied it in every possible form of insult. The English were termed Barbarians; and a Norman could not more grossly offend one of his countrymen, than by calling him an Englishman.

Many circumstances, casually mentioned by historians, convince us, that the manners of the conquerors were rude and disgusting, even amongst the rich. That disagreeable custom of covering the floors of their wooden dwellings with straw and rushes existed in the time of William; and even the twigs and foliage of trees were used for this purpose. The ideas which naturally occur to a modern on this subject, preclude any enlargement on my part further than the observation, that frequent fires must have been the consequence. One advantage might have resulted to the English from the conquest of their country, had they been inclined to imitate the temperance and sobriety of the Normans: this does not, however, appear to be the fact, from the severe terms used against them in this respect by

by William of Malmesbury and others; on the contrary, we have reason to suppose that the latter people insensibly adopted their pernicious customs of wasting days and nights in gratifying the palate. Before they were assimilated with the natives, the Normans were remarkable for their playfulness of disposition, which they indulged even in moments little calculated to excite cheerfulness in our view of things. This description of temperament made them generous and liberal, both in forming their conclusions, and rewarding their followers or dependants; had they acquired what they gave in a more commendable way, we should have been more inclined to applaud their spirit: and, perhaps, successful rapacity produced a kind of spendthrift profusion, which little resembled the conduct of their countrymen who remained in their native place. Much might be said of their sense of delicacy, and consciousness of their superior military talents: but it is enough to add, that the Normans despised and insulted the English, when they spurned at insult from others; and persuaded the world into a belief that they were altogether invincible, by the most absurd speeches to their soldiers previous to battle. It is true repeated instances are upon record of the superb and liberal presents they were in the habit of making: but whence were they obtained? From Northumberland, where William appeared in the character of a spirit of evil; gratifying an inexhaustible

inexhaustible revenge upon men, women, and children, indiscriminately murdered by his soldiers, by the light of the fire which consumed their *immovable* property, and afterwards, collected by the Barons of his nation, who erected their castles, and made them the receptacles of stolen property. Matthew Paris asserts, "that such was the general dread of these licensed banditti, that the peasantry had a form of prayer, which they solemnly pronounced every night, to protect them from those who should have been their preservers."

The meals of the Normans were confined to two each day, and their hours of eating them precisely answer to our breakfast and dinner, though they termed them dinner and supper; the family assembled to the former at nine in the morning, and to the latter at five in the afternoon. The tables on these occasions are said to have exhibited every British and foreign viand which the abilities of the Monarch or his lords could procure; after which it will not surprise the reader to hear that midnight sometimes separated the supper guests; and he may hence conclude, that the temperance attributed to the Normans was greatly relaxed, or was entirely confined to those who could not obtain the good things of this life. Many animals and birds were eaten as dainties at that time, and long after, which we should be disgusted at the idea of at present;

present; it was the same with their liquors, exclusive of those still used in England.

The gallantry and general tendency of knighthood, as the term is now understood, or a fraternity of military men, who made the redressing of wrong the first and only principle of action, would be a very erroneous idea of the order which made its appearance in England with the Normans; as it is utterly impossible to reconcile the manners and conduct just noticed even with the impelling motives of a Don Quixote, who committed all kinds of injustice with the best intentions. The Norman knights evidently associated, and increased their numbers, for the sole purpose of oppression and usurpation. In the first instance, the inventors of this system contrived to involve the profession in a mysterious veil of high reputation and military importance, which was alone a sufficient inducement for the appearance of candidates on all sides. The noviciate was removed at an early age from the superintendance of females, and placed under the care of a knight; the youth was then considered in the light of a page, and received the polish necessary for his appearance at court, and such instructions in the use of arms as his time of life permitted: in due time he became an esquire, when the more manly operations of attack and defence were practised, and he was admitted into the company of ladies, and partook of all the diversions of his patron:

patron: at the same time, he made rapid advances in all the accomplishments of the day. At stated periods, numbers of noviciates met in the field, well mounted and armed; when combats took place, calculated to improve them in their movements as compact military bodies. The last act in this series of preparation was the conferring of the title of knight by the prince, earl, or baron, with whom the party had passed his seven or eight years of probation; the knight elect fasted, prayed, performed penance, received the sacrament, confessed, was exhorted, bathed, and at length, clothed in white, went in procession to the altar, where he delivered his sword to the officiating priest, who, having consecrated it, replaced it on his body. The candidate then went to the place appointed for the ceremony, which was not confined to a church, but might be in the open air, in the court of a castle, or in the hall. On approaching the prince, or noble, he kneeled, and offered his sword; the former, receiving it, enquired why he desired the honour of knighthood; upon the return of a satisfactory answer, a solemn oath was administered; and this was the signal for the advance of certain knights and ladies, who put on his various pieces of armour, and finally the sword: the prince, or baron, then descended from his seat, and struck his face thrice gently with the palm of his hand, or his shoulder with a sword, repeating, "In the name of God, St. Michael,

Michael, and St. George, I make thee a knight: be thou brave, hardy, and loyal." The knight was immediately assisted to rise; and having received his helmet, lance, and shield, he vaulted upon his charger, and performed such exercises as were customary in war.

It may be supposed, that the new brother had been long provided with a mistress, to whom he dedicated all the tenderness of his nature, and practised towards her the most punctilious veneration. It was customary, besides, for a knight to form a firm friendship with some companion of his probation, and to him he swore constant fraternal affection. A curious instance of the inviolability sometimes attached to the word of honour of a knight occurred in the case of king Stephen—a man who violated every moral principle without scruple, and yet having given his word that he would conduct the empress Maud, his determined enemy, out of his own reach, when on the point of becoming his prisoner, he punctually performed his promise. It would be unjust not to acknowledge there were many knights who did the profession honour, and literally fulfilled their vows to protect the innocent. Hence originated the present various orders.

It has been a subject for dispute in what degree William innovated upon the laws and usages of his conquered people: that he meditated more than the exact observance of them may be collected

lected from his Domesday book, and the liberal manner in which he provided for the adherents; still it appears, that he did not very materially alter the national laws.

According to Ingulph, the Normans introduced the custom of calling their grants charters, and were in the habit of confirming their authenticity by impressions in wax from seals, besides the signatures of the principals and witnesses.

The same author further informs us, that the natives of England, and the descendants of their naturalized invaders, insensibly adopted the Norman manners: the French language, being that of the conqueror's court, was of necessity used by such of the English as could obtain admission there; hence it may well be supposed to have descended to the lower ranks of people rapidly, and, with the language, numberless traits of national character. Had not the thrice antient propensity of *imitation* then existed, the invader possessed means to force his idiom on us; nor did he omit every opportunity of so doing: he had his *primary schools*, where French was taught, and the English language forbidden; and all his deeds, laws, and charters, were in that language. Matthew Paris says the Saxons and Mercians used the Saxon character in all their writings till the time of Alfred, after which it was disused gradually, from the circumstance of that king having received his education through the medium

dium of French tutors. It is however certain, that, for a very long period after, our antient charters exhibit an intermixture of the Saxon All judicial proceedings were in French till 36 Edward III.

One of the rude and unsafe customs of these remote days was the gift of lands verbally, with the trivial additional security of the donor's spur, helmet, bow or arrow, or drinking cup. Edgar divided his staff with the abbot and convent of Glastonbury in testimony of a grant to that foundation; and Camden gives an instance of the absurd folly of the times in the case of Godwin earl of Kent, who said to the archbishop of Canterbury, "Give me Boseham;" the prelate, at a loss to comprehend his meaning, hesitating, replied, "I give you Boseham." The artful noble immediately took possession of an estate so named, on the coast of Sussex, belonging to the see, and supported his claim by repeating the archbishop's inconsiderate reply before the king, corroborated by the evidence of his attendants, purposely placed in hearing of the words of the gift.

Prudence, necessity, or apprehension, induced William to issue an edict, commanding a bell to be rung, in every district, at eight o'clock in the evening, which was to be received as the signal for extinguishing fire of every description. The well-known *curfew* is still sounded even in London.

Polydore

Polydore Vergil attributes the trial by jury to this reign, but, Selden says, erroneously. Lambarde's explication of law terms informs us, that this admirable custom is to be traced in a code of Ethelred's: another of considerable importance, which still creates infinite interest in the Metropolis, was ordained by William — the four law-terms, when the different judges sit to hear and determine causes.

When the antient monarchs of this island governed it in despotic sway, necessity compelled them to attach many powerful chiefs to their interest: this they had various methods of accomplishing; amongst the number was hospitality, or what we now term a splendid establishment for the table. The custom of eating delicious viands, and indulging, not in the pleasures of the *bottle*, but of the *horn* or *cup*, was a bait for the most ferocious leader; to provide these, the king had his purveyors, to whom payments were made, by his subjects, in oxen, sheep, corn, &c. &c. from which a sufficient supply was selected for the use of the palace: in some cases money was received; and in a later period, the whole was commuted for sums in specie.

A country involved in disputes for territory with a foreign invader must have presented to the observer scenes calculated to invert every step towards refinement or amelioration of manners: indeed, the history of this period affords but few

opportunities

opportunities of describing the habits of the people. Those of the court do not appear in a very favourable light, which we derive from the conduct of Judith, niece of William of Normandy; who, having married Waltheof, an English nobleman, was entrusted by him with the heads of a conspiracy against William, formed in his presence, in the midst of the inflamed indulgencies of the table, of which he heartily repented. The doubly faithless lady, attached to another, sent an express to her uncle, then in Normandy, to inform him of her husband's guilt in aggravated terms.

This unfortunate man afterwards attended the monarch to solicit his pardon, and plead the king's escape, through his means, in extenuation of punishment; which it is probable he would have obtained, had not Judith exerted all her influence against him, and at length with complete success.

The concurrent testimony of our Historians represent William of Normandy as a man whose handsome and muscular frame was improved by his easy and graceful performance of martial exercises, and address in riding: towards the close of his life he became corpulent, and his features at all times presented a stern character, which might be traced in his actions as a hunter and as an invader. He was religious, temperate, and chaste; but did not hesitate to injure the

professors

professors of Religion when a favourite point could be gained by that means: whether the opposite vices of ambition, avarice, and cruelty, can be reconciled with the possession of the preceding virtues, must be left to the moralist to decide: that he was equally ambitious, avaricious, and cruel, is demonstrated by his conquest of England, the treasures he amassed in consequence, and the universal dismissal of every Englishman from places of honour and trust, exclusive of minor acts of despotism. What avails it then that he has the term of the *Conqueror* annexed to his name, or that he was the greatest general of his age?

William Rufus doth not appear to have made any regulation immediately affecting the metropolis, if we except that he rendered it necessary for its inhabitants, as well as those of England, generally to obtain passports for leaving it.

The character we have received of William Rufus is that of a most complete and obdurate tyrant, and of a base and contemptible man; one who ridiculed religion, indulged in excessive eating and drinking, encouraged the incentious of both sexes, and was as profligate in his language as his vulgar favourites. Pride, vanity in dress, cruelty, ambition, and avarice, rendered him odious; and his total contempt of all the laws and customs of his subjects, made them execrate him. Flambard his favourite, and his soldiers,

the

the instruments of his oppression, were the only persons who profited by the reign of Rufus: the latter had in him an experienced and courageous leader; but these qualities were perverted, and his uncommon strength and activity were wasted in pursuits every way unjust and reprehensible.

Henry, surnamed *Beauclerc* through his literary acquirements, explained the rights of his people, in an instrument which he issued upon ascending the throne: part of this will serve as an explanation of the then state of society:

"If any of my barons, or other men, homagers or tenants of mine, shall have a mind to give his daughter or sister, or niece, or kinswoman, in marriage, let him speak with me about it. But neither will I take any thing of his for this leave and licence, nor will I hinder him from betrothing her, except he shall have a design of giving her to an enemy of mine. If upon the death of a baron, or any other homager of mine, there be left a daughter that is an heiress, I will bestow her, with the advice of my barons, together with her land.

"If upon the death of the husband the wife be left without children, she shall have her dowry and right of marriage, as long as she shall keep her body according to law; and I will not bestow her but according to her own liking. And if there be children, either the wife, or some one else near of

kin, shall be their guardian, and trustee of their land, who ought to be just.

"I give order that my homagers do in like manner regulate themselves towards the sons and daughters and wives of their homagers."

From these ordinances it will be observed, that it was and had been expected, that all marriages were to be regulated by the king, who had the latitude of judging of their propriety, without consulting the wishes of the parties: thus if the children of two barons felt a mutual affection, the consent of the parents was but one step towards the contract; the king possessed the *veto*, and a person interested in preventing the proposed union had only to represent the youth as an enemy to the state, and all further proceedings were stopped.

Nor did this evil rest with the chiefs alone, who were permitted to exercise a petty tyranny over their vassals, according to the caprice of the day, without assigning any motive whatever, or being liable to any responsibility. From a custom like this, let us be thankful that our ancestors have delivered us, at the expence of their lives.

Canute set a very excellent example to his successors, by decreeing that the lord or possessor should make a distribution of his property to his wife, children, and relations, to the best of his discretion; and Henry emulated it:

"If

"If any one of my barons (he proceeds), or homagers, shall be sick and weak, according as he himself shall give or order any one to give his money, I grant it so to be given; but if he himself, being prevented either by arms or by sickness, hath neither given his money, nor disposed of it to give; then let his wife or children, or parents, and his lawful homagers, for his soul's health, divide as to them shall seem best." In the latter case, or the death of a person intestate, the right of disposing of property was subsequently transferred to the bishop of the diocese where the circumstance occurred.

William of Malmesbury asserts, that it was the custom in this reign to punish thefts, and other species of rapine, by removing the eye-balls of the offender from their sockets; together with other severe inflictions. In the Janus Anglorum, Selden observes:

"In the first times of the Normans, I perceive that the halter was the ill consequence of theft. Let it be lawful for the Abbot of that church, if he chance to come in, in the God speed, to acquit an highwayman or thief from the gallows. They are the words of the patent with which William the Conqueror, to expiate the slaughter of Harold, consecrated a monastery to St. Martin, near Hastings, on the sea coast of Sussex, and privileged it with choice and singular rights."

It was not long after that, the *jubeit* or gallows

is mentioned to have stood in Smithfield, in a legend of St. Bartholomew's Priory, situated near that celebrated place.

Portions for the king's daughters were, for a long time, raised by a tribute exacted from every hide of land; which oppressive measure seems to have been derived from the suggestion of Henry Beauclerc, who demanded three shillings from each hide, to accumulate one for Maud on her marriage with the Emperor Henry.

Selden is of opinion, that the aid demanded by chiefs from their vassals, for the same purpose, is of far more antient origin; the Normans had this custom, and possibly received it from Italy. Henry has, besides, the credit of that law called the Courtesy of England, which transfers the estate of a wife to her husband during life, provided he has had one child by her. One of the *blessings* of successful invasion originated with this monarch, which was a heavy tax to preserve the Norman dominions from the aggressions of Louis King of France, and Baldwin Earl of Flanders. This then was the commencement of taxation for the prosecution of foreign hostilities. We are not acquainted exactly with its amount: we are certain, however, that the powers of numbers were equal to its calculation; but who shall enable those powers to embrace the sums since wasted from London alone in this fruitless and endless pursuit?

Henry I. was in many respects the reverse of his immediate predecessors. The effects of a good education, and his attachment to learning, gave a softness and placidity to his features, which, added to an athletic well-made person, rendered him the *fine gentleman* as well as the *fine scholar*; the term given him by his subjects. His domestic duties being fulfilled with the most scrupulous regard to propriety, secured to his people the just administration of the affairs of the kingdom; and he was considered in the same light by the publick in which he was viewed by his children, as a facetious and affable parent.

Strange and unnatural as it may appear, there were dark shades in this otherwise excellent character. Henry had superior talents as a general and politician; the former he exerted in ambitious projects, and the latter in procuring him vast sums in merciless exactions. When William Rufus fell by the arrow of Walter Tyrrel, Henry was hunting in the same forest. Policy and ambition united, prompted him to make immediate exertions to supersede Robert, who had the double claim to the throne, of being his elder, and appointed by William, with the consent of his Nobles, as his successor. That he succeeded, is a sufficient condemnation of his conduct.

The ardent contest for the throne of England, carried on by King Stephen and the Empress Maud, being foreign to my plan, requires no particular

ticular notice; but the consequences on the manners of the people demand attention. The year 1140 was passed in the most horrid of all pursuits, that of Civil War; and such were the violent effects of the struggle, all ranks of society seemed transformed into furies. The great Barons of the realm, and numbers of the inferior nobility, possessing strong castles in every part of the country, were, by each adopting their favourite Monarch, a series of intermixed inveterate enemies; whose whole employment consisted in endeavouring to excel in deep-laid stratagems to surprize their neighbours, and in contriving means to ruin and torture them and their adherents.

Antient authors, treating on this period, represent those Barons and their followers as nothing better than fiends, employed by their superior in wickedness to convert every village and church within their reach into ashes. Brutalised by their monstrous excesses, it requires but little strength of imagination to form a picture of the internal economy of the castle. The lord, constantly cased in armour, and commanding a ruthless gang in a successful sortie, returned to his residence inflated with insolent pride, and impatient to send his prisoners to the dreadful dungeons of the keep, or citadel, that himself and his men might revel in the midst of their spoils, and teach their offspring all the horrid licentiousness of their parents; while the lady of the mansion

sion was confined, with her females, to a few dreary apartments, with loop-hole windows, and damp walls from nine to twelve feet in thickness, where they passed the gloomy day and long melancholy night, fearing the ills inflicted by her lord on others.

On the other hand, let us view the castle just surprized, stained with blood, and strewed with victims to the melted lead, boiling water and oil, poured on them from the chasms over the great gate, mashed to pieces by the fall of the ponderous portcullis, pierced with arrows from the various loop-holes of the walls, cut down by the sword, or cleft by the battle-axe. The shouts and cries of the combatants ring through the vaults of the apartments; fire and smoke roll through them, in dreadful resemblance of the volumes which consumed the cottages of the poor slaves, who tilled the land of the defeated Baron.

Such were the habits of society in the reign of Stephen: surely they must have driven from each mansion in the kingdom every thing which resembles our present customs. Dr. Henry has given a passage from "Gesta Regis Stephani," containing a summary of the consequences of civil war, which may serve as a lesson for modern times:

"All England in the mean time wore a face of misery and desolation. Multitudes abandoned their beloved country, and went into voluntary exile;

exile; others, forsaking their own houses, built wretched huts in the church-yards, hoping for protection from the sacredness of the place. Whole families, after sustaining life as long as they could, by eating herbs, roots, and the flesh of dogs and horses, at last died of hunger; and you might see many pleasant villages without a single inhabitant of either sex."

In endeavouring to form an estimate of the character of King Stephen, we find a number of excellent qualities balanced against one imperfection, which rendered the whole of the former useless and utterly abortive. In the first place he was an usurper; and his ambition urged him to maintain his power by every means courage and fortitude suggested; and the preceding articles shew the consequences to the people at large.

We are told by Historians, he was equally worthy as a husband and father; liberal, condescending, and facetious: but what must have been the mind of that man, who could suppress every spark of the above virtues when his own supposed interest intervened between their exercise, and the loss of a throne?

The rights of hospitality to the stranger were defined by Henry II. in the following manner:

"Let it be lawful for no man, neither in borough nor in village, or place of entertainment, to have or keep in his house, beyond one night, any stranger whom he will not hold to right, unless the

the person entertained shall give a reasonable essoign or excuse, which the master, or host of the house, is to shew to his neighbours; and when the guest departs, let him depart in presence of the neighbours, and in the day-time."

"Hither (says Selden) belongs that of Bracton. He may be said to be of one's family who shall have lodged with another for the space of three nights; in that the first night he may be called *uncuth*, i. e. unknown, a stranger; but the second night *gust*, i. e. a guest, or lodger; the third night *hogenhine* (I read *hawan man)* i. e. in Greek ὁμοδάπεζος οἰκεῖος, in Latin *familiaris*, one of the family."

The warlike opinions and manners of the people may be gathered from other ordinances of Henry II. Jews were forbid to have in their possession coats of mail, or habergeons. The subjects of England were charged not to bear arms out of this country without special permission, or to sell them for exportation; nor were they to have more arms than these regulations allowed.

He that had one knight's fee, was to be provided with an habergeon or coat of mail, a helmet, a shield, and lance; and every knight to have a complete suit of the above description, for each knight's fee in his demesne. A layman, freeholder, with an income of 16 marks, was to possess the coat of mail, helmet, shield, and lance. A person of similar description whose income

was

was but 10 marks, had a little habergeon, a capelet of iron, and a lance.

The burghers, or townsmen of corporations, and communities of freemen (wambars), an iron capelet and a lance. They were individually forbidden to pawn or alienate their arms, which were to descend to their male heirs; when these were not of age, the guardian of the party held them in trust to that period; and, in case of necessity, a man was to be provided as a substitute for the minor.

The above facts furnish us with a favourable opportunity of estimating the manners of our antient citizens, whose bodies, inured to the endurance of the chills produced by their enclosure in metal, and hardened into muscular strength by its weight and the hurling of the lance, must have been proportionably rough and stern. Nine-tenths of the effeminate customs we have since invented were unknown to them; which have rendered us the slaves of imitation, enervated our bodies, and, surely, not contributed to our happiness.

Henry II. had received the best of educations from his uncle the Duke of Gloucester; who found his pupil possessed of an understanding capable of receiving every species of instruction, and improving upon it by its native energy. Most fortunately for England, the manners of this Prince were gentle, and his mind disposed to set an example

ample of the best customs both in government and domestic life. Influenced by a generous commiseration for the forlorn state of his people, disgusted by the civil war of the preceding reign, he began, when only twenty-one, a system of reformation which would have done honour to a man of greater age and long experience. Before the unnatural behaviour of his own family disunited the kingdom, the urbanity, cheerfulness, and politeness of his deportment, cannot but have influenced his subjects, in some degree, to imitate them; and, whether they emulated his other good qualities, they could not but have admired his learning, his eloquence, and his extensive knowledge of the laws.' He is celebrated for his abhorrence of war, his courage and prudence when compelled to embark in it, and his encouragement of the arts then known, and munificence in patronising those who professed them.

When this amiable prince heard of the death of his rebellious and detestable son, one who practised every description of treachery against an indulgent father, he fainted thrice, and remembered only the few virtues he had possessed. Viewing him, not as the wretch armed against his parent and sovereign, but as the miserable penitent expiring on a heap of ashes, and entreating his forgiveness.

Henry II. gave a noble example to his opulent subjects. This monarch knew the wants of his people,

people, and relieved them with a liberality which renders his name immortal. The year 1176 was remarkable in France for a scarcity of provisions. Anjou and Maine, two provinces under his dominion in that country, severely felt the consequences. Those he endeavoured to remove by every means in his power; and actually procured sustenance from the neighbouring states, sufficient for the support of ten thousand persons from the commencement of April till the harvest occurred At other times the corn in his granaries was at the service of those in necessity.

The ferocity of manners exhibited by the lower classes of people in the massacre of the Jews, which took place at the coronation of Richard I. lessens much of the concern we should be inclined to feel for their sufferings in the reign of Stephen. The Barons and inferior nobility then preyed on each other, through ambitious purposes. But how are we to excuse the cruelty of the citizens of London in killing persons who dared not to defend themselves?

Richard, a man disgraced by his shameful behaviour to his virtuous father, had shewn some marks of contrition, and, apparently most religiously disposed, commanded that no Jew should presume to enter Westminster Abbey, or the Hall, at the solemnity of his Coronation. Several of the Israelites were so imprudent as to attempt to force their way into the latter place, and were expelled

expelled with abuse; beaten and pelted with stones, they naturally fled; and others near the palace, taking the alarm, followed their example. The Christian mob pursued, and some villains amongst them exclaimed, the King had issued an order for the extirpation of every Jew in the city. Inflamed by a mistaken idea of religion, and still more by the opportunity thus created of plundering the houses of these persecuted people, they were killed without mercy the moment they could be seized; and the streets of London presented victims of blind wickedness in all directions.

Those who escaped to their homes, and others who had not been from them, were assaulted; and, endeavouring to save their lives by flight, received the death-blow the instant they passed the threshold of their houses, and some were consumed in their habitations.

This dreadful act of public vengeance terminated with robbery; and it appears that little exertion was made to prevent the perpetrators from sating themselves effectually; a very few of the ringleaders were subsequently apprehended, and suffered the punishment due to thousands besides. What, indeed, could be expected of a government which permitted a general plunder and destruction of Jews previous to the commencement of a crusade?

Richard I. possessed a quality which produced him more honour and admiration from his contemporaries,

temporaries, than the exercise of all the virtues of the human character could otherwise have excited in the then state of society. Richard, the Lion-hearted, feared no enemy; braved death in every form, and, at length, died in the field through a wound inflicted by the arrow of Bertrand de Gourdon, one of the garrison of the Castle of Chalons. A warlike people governed by a Prince of this description, whose person was majestic and whose features accorded with the manly and firm character of his mind, could not fail of being celebrated by every author of the period. Hence we find them ardent in their praises of him as a warrior and statesman.

After the Castle of Chalons was taken, the whole of the party which defended it were hanged, except Gourdon. Richard asked him, why he had endeavoured to take his life? Gourdon boldly replied, that the King had himself killed his father and brother, and, therefore, deserved the same punishment from his hands. Richard had the magnanimity to acknowledge the truth of his answer, and ordered him to be set at liberty.

His facetious and satirical reply to the Archbishop of Rouen, almost at the close of his life, demonstrates the playful disposition of his mind. The prelate recommended the immediate dismissal of his three favourite daughters, Pride, Avarice, and Luxury. I give them in marriage, said the King;

King; the first to the Templars, the second to the Monks, and the third to the Prelates.

A man of true courage is generally liberal and forgiving to his conquered enemies, and this was the case with Richard. And yet it would be no difficult task to prove that he neglected all the essential interests of his kingdom, and exhibited many traits of sensuality, infidelity, cruelty, and avarice; exclusive of his acts as a son.

This monarch was seated at supper when he received advice that the King of France had commenced the siege of Verneuil in Normandy, then held by the troops of Richard. Exasperated at the intelligence, he vowed he would not turn his back till he had met the French; and to accomplish this odd resolution he commanded that part of the wall of his palace which was situated between him and the enemy to be broken down, and he went through the breach immediately to the field of battle.

Of all the Kings which have enjoyed the throne of England, not one seems to have been so completely and generally condemned as John; who began his public life by conspiring against a father, to whom he was under the deepest obligations.

This one act is quite sufficient to render his character infamous; we are, therefore, not surprised to find he was capable of murdering a nephew, attempting to dethrone a brother, cruel to his

his family, and unfaithful to his wife. As a King, he was oppressive, and would even have made the corn-fields of his subjects pasture for his deer, and themselves perfect slaves, had not the Barons been faithful to their natural rights.

When in the plenitude of power, Religion, and its professors, were the constant objects of his ridicule; and yet the terrors he felt at the frowns of the Head of the Church, induced him, at a less propitious moment, to resign his crown into the hands of a legate, who returned it as to an abject vassal.

No remarkable changes in the manners and customs of the court, the nobles, and the people, appear to have taken place for a long period: were we to judge of them from many of the writers of the time, they were neither creditable to the nation, nor profitable to individuals. Froissart condemns the English for their haughty insolent affectation of independence, and contempt of strangers. William of Malmesbury goes still farther, and represents every rank as emulating each other in pride, ignorance, and rapacity: and others paint the clergy as sacrilegious, cruel, and luxurious; assuming the habit of piety merely for wicked purposes. These accounts should, however, be received with great caution; as we have upon record, in opposition to them, numerous instances of generosity of mind, liberality, courage, and genuine though perhaps mistaken piety.

The

The whole body of knights swore to promote the peace and good order of society; and, it is but justice to grant, some cases must have occurred in which they performed their vows. When civil war ceased, for a short interval humanity and benevolence insinuated themselves into the castles and palaces, and spread their influence through their environs: unfortunately, their operations were soon frustrated, and they were compelled to yield to revenge and ambition — two evils very often predominant during the prevalence of the Feudal system.

Strange as it appears to a modern, the manners of the great were a series of contradictions: at one time the knight, inflamed with the most ardent gallantry, would offer his life at the feet of the ladies, and treat them with the most extravagant adulation; and at another, he would burn her husband, or father's castle, destroy them in battle, and render these revered objects worse than mendicants. A youth, after having made choice of his mistress, would proclaim her perfections at the point of his sword; and he that dared assert his own excelled her, must maintain his position, and even die in defence of it. We may readily imagine the consequences of this folly in the inevitable feuds it caused in families, which naturally bore their part in these senseless dissensions. When they were indulged to excess

(as

(as sometimes happened), they degenerated into downright wickedness and robbery.

The uncertain state of property, the frequency of military devastation, and above all the vassalage of the lower classes, who laboured with reluctance, produced frequent famines; which circumstance enables us to estimate the wretched manner in which the mass of the publick lived, even when the common crops were preserved: the latter cause contributed, with others, to establish sets of banditti, who for a long time infested the country, plundering all ranks without mercy, and setting resistance almost at defiance.

Many public acts are preserved, which were intended to prevent the rich and powerful from consuming, in profligate waste, that sustenance the poor were denied the use of. These convince us, that extravagant living was a predominant vice: indeed, we need only consult Rymer for the items of some royal feasts; after which, we cannot be surprised that famine followed. A people who indulged in this description of excess vitiated their taste, and plain dishes became disgusting to them: they therefore invented an hundred methods to force an appetite; and we are informed, in various ways, that they succeeded to perfection; nor were they less choice in their wines, and English compositions as substitutes.

Henry

Henry III. had repeatedly violated the solemn engagements, entered into by his predecessor John, with the barons of the realm; which had rendered them and the people at large equally discontented, and averse to supply him with the money he wished to exact. He, at length, called a parliament; and meeting that assembly, he declared his present difficulties, acknowledged his errors, and entreated that he might once more receive a supply to enable him to undertake a Crusade; promising, at the same time, to enter into new engagements for the preservation of the rights of his people. Willing to try him once more, they complied with his wishes; but insisted, as a preliminary, on the following awful ceremony:

On the fourth day of May, in the year 1253, the whole parliament, the prelates and clergy, and the king, assembled in state in Westminster Hall; when the Great Charter, and the Charter of the Forest, were audibly read; and a sentence of excommunication pronounced, invoking the severest curses upon those who violated either. At this instant, the prelates and clergy threw the tapers each bore in their hands upon the pavement, and, alluding to their half extinguished state, exclaimed, "So may every one perish, and stink in hell, who incur this sentence." The king, laying his hand on his heart, swore by

every sacred tie to fulfil each article of the charter; but the history of his reign affords repeated instances of the forfeiture of his oath.

The tenderness and propriety of conduct of Henry III. to his own family, and the generous friendships his nature was capable of, were circumstances which would lead one to suppose might have contributed to make him a better king; and the public acts of this monarch with respect to Religion were so apparently sincere and exemplary, that they seem utterly incompatible with the exercise of any bad qualities of the mind: yet, we find, they must have been the effect rather of slavish superstition, than the consequences of a serene contemplation of his duties in that respect.

Some authors have represented Henry as a man of weak intellects, but without sufficient grounds. Had they described his character as a compound of sagacity and deceit, it would have been more correct: the duplicity he practised always tended to the advancement of his own interest; either to obtain money, or maintain the ascendency of favourite foreigners, whose presence at court was a constant source of jealousy and resentment to his nobility. Their opposition to these propensities caused much bloodshed; and when fortune frowned on the king, he always escaped by the most artful means. And at those moments, the

cowardice

cowardice of his nature induced him to enter into engagements that must have secured any other person to the performance of them.

It is unnecessary to describe the contempt and abhorrence entertained for this sovereign, by his subjects, at the close of his life; as it is impossible to balance one virtue against his numerous crimes as a monarch.

The lapse of time between the massacre of the Jews already mentioned, and the reign of Edward I. had not effected any favourable change towards that people; which will appear from the severity exercised in punishing their offences against the laws of the realm, as clippers of the current coin, and in other particulars. A royal mandate, issued on November 12, 1278, commanded the seizure of every Israelite in England, many of whom were afterwards brought to a summary trial, and two hundred and eighty of them were hanged in London only; besides the forfeiture of the whole of their property. The wicked prejudices of the period, and a general brutality of manners, made the nation view this horrid transaction with apathy: had their own liberties and lives been equally endangered, we have reason to suppose, from the spirited conduct of the earl of Warren, that they would not have wanted leaders in a revolt.

The same king appointed commissioners to examine into the titles of the estates of his barons,

rons, and the tenures by which they were held of the crown, for the evident purpose of raising money by fines and compositions. Many resigned their property, and others paid large sums for quiet possession in future: but the earl alluded to met the commissioners with a rusty sword in his hand, which he drew from the scabbard, declaring, that was the means used by his ancestors in gaining their territory, and by that he was determined to keep possession. The hint was sufficient; and Edward soon after revoked the commission.

The total expulsion of the Jews was decreed in 1290.

The origin of touching for the disease in the neck called the King's Evil, is thus accounted for by Stowe, in his Annals. A young woman, afflicted with the disorder alluded to in a very alarming and disgusting degree, and feeling the uneasiness and pain consequent to it in her sleep, dreamt she should be cured by the simple operation of having the part washed by the king. Application was made by her friends, and Edward humanely consented to undertake the disagreeable task: a basin of water was brought, and he carefully softened the tumours till the skin broke, and the contents were discharged; the sign of the cross was added, and the female retired, with an assurance of his protection during the remainder of the cure, which was effected within a week.

We

We cannot but lament, that the scrophula received its second appellation from a cause so decidedly unfounded; as the king or his predecessors do not appear to have had the disease; though it is very certain their subjects, and those of their successors, were in the constant practice of imploring their healing touch till within an hundred years past, which was a heavy penalty derived from the usage of ages.

It appears, that a sermon has been known to supersede this property of the monarch's hand. A profligate fellow, afflicted with the evil for more than twelve years, and who had been touched unsuccessfully by Charles II. received an immediate cure, according to Turner, during a sermon preached by Mr. Edward Coles, November 29th, 1693; which not only removed his corporeal sufferings but enlightened his mind, and made him internally as well as externally a new man.

"In king Edward the First's time, Adam Underwood held one yard land in Brayles, in com' Warwic, of William earl of Warwick; paying therefor seven bushels of oats yearly, and a hen; and working for the lord from Michaelmas till Lammas every other day, except Saturday; viz. at mowing as long as that season lasted, for which he was to have as much grass as he could carry away with his scythe; and at the end of hay harvest, he and the rest of his fellow mowers to have

have the lord's best mutton, except one, or xvj*d.* in money; with the best cheese saving one, vj*d.* in money, and the cheese vat, wherein the cheese was made, full of salt. From Lammas to Michaelmas he was to work two days in the week, and to come to the lord's reap with all his household, except his wife and his shepherd, and to cut down one land of corn, being quit of all other work for that day; that he should likewise carry two cart loads and a half of the lord's hay, and seven cart loads of stones, and gather nuts for three days; and in case the lord keep his Christmas at his manor of Brayles, to find three of his horses meat for three nights; that he should plough thrice a year, viz. 6 sellions, and make three quarters of malt for the lord, and pay for every hog he kept above a year old, j*d.*; and for every one under, a halfpenny; and lastly, that he and the rest of the tenants of this manor should give 12 marks yearly to the lord at Michaelmas, by way of aid; and not marry their daughters, *nec filios coronare* (nor make their sons priests), without licence from the lord.

"This was an usual restraint of old in villanage tenure, to the end the lord might not lose any of his villans, by their entering into holy orders." *

* From Blount's Tenures, 1679, 8vo, p. 21.

A very

A very fatal instance of the folly of kings, in permitting private friendships to supersede public duty, distinguished the reign of Edward II. It rarely happens, that subjects of sufficient virtue are to be found whose abilities and integrity make them proper confidants for the monarch. There is too much honesty and bluntness in the truly worthy man for the situation of a royal favourite. Opposition from a courtier seems as unnatural as a frost in July; and as almost all favourites are selected from courtiers, Sir Thomas More's are as uncommon as Spencers would be the reverse.

It is impossible to judge of the real character of a king who is weak enough to trust his power in the hands of a favourite, beyond that of being totally indifferent to the welfare of his people; which was precisely the case with Edward II. whose misfortune it was to have been intimate with Sir Hugh Spencer from his early youth.

At this time, when the liberty of the subject is perfectly understood, and must be respected in the manner the law prescribes, it appears difficult to comprehend how custom could have so far debased the public mind as to permit the introduction of a person at court, who was long known to make his master a mere cypher, at the moment he dictated the most atrocious acts; or how feudal lords, each governing his vassals with absolute command, could be seized upon with impunity,

punity, and beheaded instantly: yet such was the fact. Spencer had contrived to persuade Edward several of his barons meditated to dethrone him; the king, equally credulous and wicked, ordered the lords named by him to be arrested; and their deaths followed, even before the least enquiry took place as to the truth of the allegations urged against them. By these means, the detestable favourite removed twenty-two of his enemies, including Thomas Earl of Lancaster, whose real offences consisted in their meeting to consult measures for the removal of himself and his father from the king's presence.

The consequences of this atrocity are foreign to the plan of my work, except in those circumstances which give particular traits of manners: we find from them, that ambition, power, and cruelty, though they enervate the oppressed, and seem to frown away all resistance, are not seated upon an eminence beyond the reach of justice. Measures, too long deferred, were at length taken, which reduced the two Spencers to the situation of mere men. The elder, having been made prisoner by the queen, was condemned to death, and beheaded, with the usual inflictions on traitors, before the castle of Bristol; where Edward II. and Sir Hugh the son were then closely besieged.

Despairing of relief, and reduced to the utmost necessity, the king and his wicked adviser adopted the

the desperate resolution of attempting to escape by water to Wales. Froissart says they were eleven days in the boat, constantly beaten back by contrary winds, till at last discovered by Sir Henry Beaumont: he manned a barge, and they were soon captured. The moment for retaliation was now arrived; and the conduct of the successful party describes the barbarous habits of even the highest classes. Sir Thomas Wager, marshal of the queen's army, was entrusted with the conveyance of the miserable Sir Hugh towards London. For this purpose, he ordered him to be mounted and tied to the worst horse the country afforded; and, that the contrast might be the more conspicuous, the marshal compelled him to wear a tabart suited to his former situation in life; and announced his arrival, at the different towns they passed, by flourishes of trumpets and cymbals.

Isabella, gratified by this cruel exhibition of her prisoner, rested for some days at Hereford; where the festivities of All Saints' Day contributed more deeply in wounding the broken spirit of her enemy, who was taken, at their termination, before the queen and her barons, and by them sentenced to be drawn on a hurdle through all the streets of the city, and thence to the market place, preceded by trumpets and clarions, where a high scaffold was prepared, on which he suffered the most dreadful living mutilation

tilation the heart of refined cruelty can conceive; and the parts prescribed in the sentence being burnt, his head was sent to London for exposure, according to the usual custom.

The grand error of the life of Edward II. was his strange, infatuated, and perverse friendship for the successive favourites, Gaveston and Spencer. The example of Henry III. was before him, and yet he ventured once more to force the people of England into a tame acquiescence of being governed by deputy. A knowledge of this fact serves, in a great measure, as a description of his character; which must have been weak, courageous, and obstinate: weak, to risk the displeasure of his subjects—courageous, to brave their resentment,—and obstinate, in adopting Spencer, when Gaveston lost his head for being his favourite.

However we may condemn the King who thus acted, and his loquacious passionate disposition, it is evident his follies were more predominant than his vices. But what shall we say for the Queen and Mortimer; and, indeed, the people at large, who seem to have set honour, religion, and humanity at defiance; and render the cruel and detestable murder of Edward, the mere natural consequence of the then state of society?

The courage, address, and military successes of Edward III. the result of ambitious enthusiasm,

siasm, have ever been the distinguishing and dazzling features of his character. But he had superior claims to our approbation; for his policy and prudence as a Monarch, the excellent laws enacted under his sanction, his patronage of learning, and the encouragement he granted for the improvement of arts and commerce.

The majestic and graceful Edward excelled in the various feats performed at the tournament; and frequently witnessed those martial amusements. He invariably conquered when he led his armies to battle; and this uninterrupted success was accompanied by the most perfect domestic felicity; which was interrupted, if not terminated, by the death of Edward Prince of Wales, termed the Black Prince; whose virtues had endeared him to all ranks of his father's subjects.

The warlike spirit of the King and the people were exactly similar in this glorious reign; in describing one, we have the character of the other.

Froissart relates many particulars of a serious dissention between the English archers and their allies from Hainault, when united under the banners of Edward III. on their way to Scotland. The King and Queen each entertained large parties of knights and ladies at York, where they resided at the monastery of the Black Friars; and Sir John de Hainault and his suite were particularly honoured at the table of the latter.

"There,"

"There," says Mr. Johnes, in his translation of our author, "might be seen a numerous nobility, well served with plenty of strange dishes so disguised that it could not be known what they were. There were, also, ladies most superbly dressed, who were expecting with impatience the hour of the ball, or a longer continuance of the feast." At this moment the Grooms of the Allies and the English Archers were assembled at their quarters in the suburbs, where, it was supposed, emissaries of the late Spencer's friends contrived to raise discontent and jealousies against John de Hainault, who advised the death of the favourites, which ended in a serious attack upon the former. And such was the indiscriminating fury of the archers, that they aimed their arrows at the breasts of the Knights who left the royal presence to pacify them.

The animosity thus excited was carried to an excess, which made it necessary for the foreigners to keep guard as if in an enemy's country.

The savage conduct of a royal chief at the same period, affords a shocking criterion for judging of general manners in the higher classes of life. Froissart introduces the circumstances attending this affair by informing us, that the King had his head-quarters at Beverley, where he was surrounded by his courtiers, amongst whom was a Bohemian Knight who had visited England to pay his respects to the Queen his countrywoman,

and

and received particular attention from the Sovereign and his lords on that account.

Two of the Squires retained by Sir John Holland earl of Huntingdon, presuming upon the impunity they supposed would attend the act of insulting a stranger, disputed violently which of them should have the lodgings of Sir Meles the German, from which they had agreed in expelling him with insolent abuse. Two archers, part of the vassals brought into the field by Lord Ralph Stafford, having observed this outrageous conduct, reproached the Knights for it in severe terms; and one of them preparing to stab his opponent, the archer drew his bow, and laid him dead at his feet. The surviving Squire fled. Sir Meles returned to his lodgings: and the archers immediately acquainted Lord Ralph with the transaction, who condemned the man for what he had done; but advised him to conceal himself, till he could obtain his pardon from Sir John Holland.

During the time thus occupied, Sir John had been informed of the death of his Esquire by an archer belonging to Lord Ralph Stafford, through the unfortunate Sir Meles. Impetuously conceiving himself insulted, he declared he would take no sustenance till he was revenged: and, mounting his horse, he assembled a party of soldiers, with whom he proceeded towards the lodgings of Sir Meles, although it was then late in the evening. After a fruitless search for the German, Sir John

entered

entered a narrow lane, and, encountering horsemen, enquired who they were? A voice answered, "I am Stafford." The furious Holland announced his own name; charged him with the death of his Esquire; and at the same moment drew his sword, with which he struck the unhappy Lord Ralph so violent a blow that he fell dead from his horse. The assassin proceeded in his sanguinary pursuit without enquiring the consequences of his brutal rashness. The attendants of the deceased lord, however, soon communicated the intelligence to those of Sir John: who, upon hearing it, said, "be it so;" and added, his satisfaction was complete. And yet, coward-like, he fled to the next church for sanctuary.

It would be unjust not to mention the generous conduct of the Earl of Stafford, who waited upon the King, with the trains of himself and son, and kneeling before him, with tears, demanded justice: declaring, that in the critical situation of the army he and his followers would forget their injuries. Otherwise, they had resolved to take a severe revenge; although the murderer was the King's own brother. "Be assured," answered the Sovereign, "I myself will do justice, and punish the crime more severely than the Barons would venture to do; and never, for any brother, will I act otherwise."

Another circumstance, related by the same author, which occurred about the same time, shews the unsettled state of society.

Lisbon

Lisbon had been besieged by the King of Castille; and soon after three ships entered that port, freighted with about 500 Englishmen at arms, and archers, many of whom were under no command, and without pay. "Let us go seek adventures in Portugal," said these soldiers: "we shall find some one there to receive and employ us." They did so; and the King gave them three months pay in advance, besides assigning them good quarters in the city. Shortly after we find the English eager in persuading the King to permit them to pursue the flying Spaniards, who were defeated in the battle of Aljubarota. "We are strangers," exclaimed Hartsel, one of the three Esquires who went to Portugal, "come from a distance to serve you, and would willingly gain something from those calves that are flying without wings, and who drive their banners before them?"

"Fair brother," answered the King, "all covet, all lose."

It cannot but be grateful to an Englishman to hear of the gallantry and courage of his ancestors, which had become as natural a consequence of their lives, as their most familiar customs. When the army of England had invested St. Maloes in the reign of Edward III. that of France was separated from it by a river, and an arm of the sea. The former, impatient for battle, used to advance on the sands with their banners displayed, inviting

their enemies to cross and meet them. The French, cautious, and contented with their situation, made frequent deceptive demonstrations; till at length, exasperated to desperation, the Earl of Cambridge swore, that he would himself advance if the whole of the men remained inactive; and, plunging into the river, attempted to wade through it.

The Constable of France ordered his best soldiers forward to the brink of the stream, and then to retreat to the fields. Such of the English as could bring their arrows to bear upon the enemy shot, and every thing seemed to promise a furious contest, when it was found that the depth was too great to proceed, particularly as the tide began to flow, and the impatient Earl was compelled to return.

Not long after the above affair, the two armies held garrisons at neighbouring towns. That of Cherbourg, then in possession of the English, happened to make a sortie on the same day that a party of French sallied from a fortress; "when they met," says Froissart, "like knights and squires desirous of fighting. They all dismounted except Sir Lancelot de Lorris, who remained on horseback, his lance in its rest, and his target on his neck, requesting a tilt in honour of his lady. Several heard his demand; for there were also among the English some Knights and Squires who had bound themselves in like man-

ner by vows of love to their ladies. I believe it was Sir John Copeland, a hardy knight, who accepted his challenge. Then spurring their horses they charged each other very gallantly, and gave dreadful blows on their targets. Sir Lancelot was, however, so severely struck by the English knight, that his shield and other armour were pierced through, and himself mortally wounded. It was a great pity, for he was an expert Knight; young, handsome, and much in love. He was there, and elsewhere, sincerely lamented."

The contest which afterwards succeeded between the parties terminated in favour of our countrymen, who either killed or captured all their opponents.

The individual gallantry of the English appeared in another instance, at the time when the Earl of Buckingham endeavoured to provoke the French to combat. The young Knights were universally eager to skirmish; but an Esquire, whose name is not mentioned, a native of Lincolnshire, particularly distinguished himself, by placing his lance in the rest, his target on his neck, and, spurring his horse he leaped the bar of the barriers at Troyes, and rushing forward met the Duke of Burgundy, surrounded by the French nobility, near the gate of the city. This exploit, which we must applaud rather than approve, ended, as might be expected, in the death of the party, to the great displeasure of the Duke,

who wished to have preserved the life of a man so courageous.

The fastidious and captious Critic may object to my following Englishmen into France, in order to illustrate their characters; and let him. I address my labours to the discriminating reader, who feels the difficulties of my situation, and admits that it is necessary to call in every collateral aid to render these anecdotes as perfect a representation of our antient manners as possible.

The romantic ideas both French and English entertained of individual honour and enterprise, led to many fruitless encounters, with reference to the general issue of the war. The Constable of France and the Earl of Buckingham commanded the hostile armies, near Vannes; and both these chiefs seemed equally desirous of their countrymen signalizing themselves in feats of arms.

A challenge which occurred was decided on a level in the neighbourhood of the above city. The three French knights proceeded from Chateau Josseline, and the English entertained them and their suites in the suburbs. On the following day the Earls of Buckingham, Stafford, and Devonshire, and other nobles, went to the field with the British champions. "The French took their places," says Froissart, "at one end of the lists, and the English at the other. Those who were to tilt were on foot, completely armed with hel-

mets, vizors, and provided with lances of good steel from Bourdeaux." The combatants advanced quickly towards each other with their lances. The Lord de Vertain received the point of his adversary without injury; the Lord de Pousanges, less fortunate, was pierced to the quick, through the mail and breast-plate of steel, and bled profusely; but they completed their feats without farther injury, and became spectators of other combats.

"Then came the last, Edward Beauchamp and Clarius de Savoye. This bastard was a hardy and strong Squire, and much better formed in all his limbs than the Englishman. They ran at each other with a hearty good-will; both struck their spears on their adversary's breast, but Edward was knocked down on the ground, which much vexed his countrymen. When he was raised up, he took his spear; and they advanced again to the attack; but the Savoyard drove him backward to the earth, which more enraged the English. They said, Edward's strength was not a match for this Savoyard, and the devil was in him to make him think of tilting against one of such superior force. He was carried off among them, and declared he would not engage farther."

Clarius, elated with his success, braved the English; and having completely provoked Jannequin Finchley, he stepped forward, and entreated the Earl of Buckingham he might be permitted to accept

accept the challenge. The Earl assented, and he instantly armed himself. Each grasped his spear, and, attacking with equal strength and eagerness, they thrice broke their lances, without injuring each other, to the great admiration of the spectators. They then drew their swords, which were strong, and in six strokes four of them were broken. They would then have tried who might conquer with battle-axes; but the Earl, fearful of fatal consequences, commanded them to desist.

Two other combats followed, in the last of which John de Châtelmorant received a dangerous wound in the thigh. The hostile parties then separated; the French retiring to Chateau Josselin, and the English to Vannes.

The practice of war at this time was mercenary, and disgraceful in one point of view. Upon consulting Froissart and other writers, it will be perceived, that the sieges of towns and castles generally terminated with the indiscriminate massacre of the garrison, except the commander, and such barons and knights as were capable of paying a heavy ransom for their freedom.

The author just mentioned relates a circumstance which is an illustration of this fact. "Sir Hervé de Leon was a prisoner in the hands of Edward the Third: when the King received intelligence that the French Monarch had caused several lords in the interest of England to be beheaded, he instantly resolved to retaliate in the per[illegible]

the unfortunate Sir Hervé. The Earl of Derby interfered, and represented the cruelty of the measure in so forcible a point of view, that Edward relented; and, sending for Sir Hervé, told him of his resentment to Philip, who had given him just grounds for revenge in his case, who had been his most bitter enemy in Brittany. "But I shall endure it," added the Monarch; "and let him act according to his own will. I will preserve my own honour unspotted, and shall allow you your liberty at a trifling ransom, out of my love for the Earl of Derby, who has requested it: but upon condition that you perform what I am going to ask of you."

He then informed him, he knew him to be one of the richest Knights of Brittany, and that he might expect at least 30 or 40,000 crowns for his ransom; but that he would accept 10,000, provided he carried his displeasure and defiance personally to King Philip. Sir Hervé accepted of the proposal, with many thanks, and performed it through much suffering, the consequence of a fatal illness caught by the dangers of his passage from England to France.

An amiable trait of character is attached to the same period of time. Edward had just then resolved to found the order of St. George, and made magnificent preparations for the ceremony at Windsor. With the chivalric generosity of his age, he said further to Sir Hervé, "You will also

inform

inform all such Knights and Squires as wish to attend my feast, for we shall be right glad to see them, not to desist on this account; for they shall have passports for their safe return, to last for fifteen days after it be over."

Previous to the decisive victory at Cressy Edward retired to his oratory, and fervently prayed for success in the approaching conflict. Early in the morning of the day of battle he heard mass, in company with the Prince of Wales; and all the soldiers followed his example, and confessed. Before ten he had rode in front of his little army to encourage the men, which he did with so much affability and cheerfulness that the most desponding felt a glow of courage.

The King was accompanied on this occasion by two Marshals, who rode one on each side of him. He bore a white wand in his hand, and was mounted on a small palfrey. In the midst of the battle, the division commanded by the Prince of Wales was assaulted with great vigour by the enemy; some of the officers, alarmed for his safety, rode to the King, and demanded assistance.

"Is my son wounded, unhorsed, or dead?" exclaimed the King. "Neither," replied the Knight, "Then let him win his spurs. Send not again to me for aid, for I am resolved to afford him none; and will give him, and those to whom I have entrusted him, the glory of this day, under God."

Edward

Edward literally adhered to his resolution, by viewing the battle from an eminence, without even wearing his helmet. In the evening, he met his son with much grateful affection; and the night was employed in religious duties by all ranks of the army.

Edward Prince of Wales, generally termed the *Black Prince* (from the colour of his armour), was, in all respects, not only the son, but the very counterpart of his father. Previous to the battle of Poictiers, he distinguished himself by his excellent advice to the little army he commanded; and contrived to inspire his soldiers with a degree of confidence sufficient to accomplish the defeat of many times their numbers.

John King of France was made prisoner in this memorable battle. Equally liberal and brave, the Prince did all in his power to console and gratify the unfortunate Sovereign; and actually waited at his table during a supper he gave the King, and others, in his pavilion, the evening succeeding the victory. When the captive and his conqueror entered London, the citizens were commanded to shew him every possible respect. And from the richness of the pageants and dresses on this occasion, it might have been supposed King John had made a visit of ceremony to England. The prisoner rode on a noble white steed, with royal caparisons; the meek and unassuming victor paced by his side on a little black hackney.

A severe

A severe battle occurred at Calais between the French and English on the 31st of December, 1348; when Edward the Third fought *incognito*, under the banners of Sir Walter de Manny. Sir Eustace de Ribeaumont, a Knight of great courage and strength, engaged the King in single combat; and it was with much difficulty that the latter made Sir Eustace his prisoner.

After the conclusion of the engagement, the victorious Monarch met the captive Knights, and explained to them and Sir Eustace the part he had taken in the conflict: at the same time he declared it was his intention to entertain them all in the castle, to celebrate the commencement of the new year. At the appointed hour the English court appeared in rich dresses, and seated themselves at table with the prisoners, who received the most friendly attention, and were honoured by the Prince of Wales, and the lords his attendants, bearing the first course to the Monarch's hospitable board.

After the removal of the supper Edward remained with his guests, crowned only by a chaplet of fine pearls; and, rising, he addressed himself to the different Knights, particularly to Sir Geoffry de Chargny, who wished to have surprised the town: and Sir Eustace de Ribeaumont smiling, he told the latter he found him to be one of the most courageous Knights in Christendom, and the most difficult to overcome of any he

he had to encounter. Then taking off his chaplet, he presented it to Sir Eustace, desiring him to wear it in remembrance of the combat between them, and requesting him to declare the cause of his receiving it on all occasions. Besides which, he gave him his liberty without ransom.

At another time, we find this brave monarch stationed on the forecastle of his own ship, habited in a jacket of black velvet, with a small beaver hat on his head, impatiently waiting the approach of a hostile Spanish fleet, greatly superior to his own, and repeatedly enquiring of the seamen on the mast-head whether they were in sight. Anticipating the victory he afterwards obtained, Edward, in high spirits, commanded the minstrels to play the German tune suited to a dance then lately introduced by Sir John Chandos, and the knights to sing in company with them.

The enemy at length appeared, and advanced with great courage, and in perfect order. "Lay me alongside the Spaniard who is bearing down on us," he exclaimed to the master of the vessel; "for I will have a tilt with him." In attempting this, the two ships met with a violent shock; which damaged the king's greatly, and caused a serious leak. They separated, and another grappled with them; and, making fast with hooks, the battle commenced. The king and his people soon found their ship untenable, and that they must either sink with her, or take the Spanish vessel;

vessel; in which they succeeded, and drove every man overboard.

The queen of Edward III. experienced some of the hardships in England which the king voluntarily endured in France, by taking the field against the king of Scotland, who had invaded this country. It does not appear that she took an active part in the hostilities which followed, but waited the event in the rear of her army.

The battle of Nevil's cross was fought on the 17th of October, 1346; when the king of Scotland was made a prisoner by John Copeland, an esquire of Northumberland; who, having met with much resistance from the monarch, and severely wounding him before he surrendered, was determined to make the most of his prize by conveying him immediately to Ogle castle, fifteen miles from the scene of action: there he boldly declared he would deliver the king to no other person but his sovereign, then employed in the siege of Calais.

Philippa, hearing of this extraordinary resolution, wrote to Copeland, demanding the king, and expressing some resentment at his conduct. Copeland, not in the least dismayed by her reproaches, repeated his assertion. Thus unexpectedly circumstanced, the queen informed her husband of the particulars of the esquire's behaviour. Edward commanded him to come to him

him in France; with which Copeland complied, after placing his prisoner in a castle on the borders of Northumberland, under a strong guard.

Those who admire the manly independence of the British character will find, by the conversation that ensued between the king and his subject, it existed, in no trifling degree, so long since as 1346. "Ha!" said Edward, according to Mr. Johnes' Translation of Froissart, "Welcome, my squire, who, by his valour, has captured my adversary, the king of Scotland." John Copeland, falling on one knee, replied, "If God, out of his great kindness, has given me the king of Scotland, and permitted me to conquer him in arms, no one ought to be jealous of it; for God can, when he pleases, send his grace to a poor squire, as well as to a great lord. Sir, do not take it amiss, if I did not surrender him to the orders of my lady the queen; for I hold my lands of you, and my oath is to you, not to her, except it be through choice." The king answered, "John, the loyal service you have done us, and our esteem for your valour, is so great, that it may well serve you as an excuse; and shame fall upon all those that bear you any ill will. You will now return home; and take your prisoner, the king of Scotland, and convey him to my wife: and by way of remuneration, I assign lands, as near your house as you can choose them, to the amount of five hundred pounds sterling a year, for

you

you and your heirs; and I retain you as a squire of my body, and of my household."

Thus encouraged and rewarded, Copeland returned to England; and soon after, in company with his friends, presented the king to Philippa, who received his apologies with complacency.

The romantic, unsuccessful, and unjustifiable affection, Edward III. indulged for the countess of Salisbury (who had entertained him with great hospitality at the earl's mansion, in his absence, when engaged in repelling an invasion from Scotland), induced him to order a magnificent tournament to be held in London; which he hoped would enable him to see and converse with her. Accordingly he dispatched messengers, with his proclamation, to different parts of the continent; inviting all knights and esquires to assist at the solemnity, without distinction of country, and promising them passports into his dominions.

The lords, knights, and esquires of England, were commanded to attend; and particularly the earl of Salisbury, who was charged to present his lady at court, with a number of young ladies in her train. The countess, the most faithful and virtuous of women, dared not explain the cause of this distinguished honour to her husband. She, therefore, determined to appear before the king in the plainest dress she could devise, and treat his advances with frigid respect.

The tournament commenced in the usual manner,

ner, and continued for fifteen days without intermission, in presence of a vast concourse of personages of high military rank; and the ladies, in superb dresses, danced with as much spirit as the knights tilted. The lord John, eldest son of viscount Beaumont, lost his life in one of the contests.

The young English nobles, and others of rich and antient families, who travel during the short intervals of peace we have been blessed with, are well known on the Continent for their liberal and independent spirit, and indeed profuse expenditure. Their countrymen of the time of Edward III. had exactly similar habits: ten knights bannerets, and forty knights bachelors, were sent by the above monarch, with the bishop of Lincoln, to Valenciennes, to treat with the lords of the empire. "Among them," says Froissart, "were many young knights who had one of their eyes covered with a piece of cloth, so that they could not see with it. It was said they had made a vow to some ladies in their country, that they would never use but one eye, until they had personally performed some deeds of arms in France; nor would they make any reply to whatever questions were asked them; so that all marvelled at their strange demeanour." But they obtained great reputation for their liberality.

The impartial reader will excuse me for quoting the following passage *verbatim* from Froissart;

as he must remember my ancestors, as well as his own, are included in the national character he has given of the English of his time. "Consider how serious a thing it is when the people rise up in arms against their sovereign; more especially such a people as the English. In such a case, there is no remedy; for they are the worst people in the world, the most obstinate and presumptuous; and of all England the Londoners are the leaders; for, to say the truth, they are very powerful in men and in wealth.

"In the city and neighbourhood there are 24,000 men, completely armed from head to foot, and full 30,000 archers. This is a great force, and they are bold and courageous; and the more blood is spilt, the greater their courage."

Those who attentively examine the conduct of Richard II. during his negotiations with the insurgents collected through the intemperance of Walter the Tyler, will perceive a considerable degree of sagacity, prudence, and courage united, in his proceedings at so critical a period. Judging from this instance, his subjects had reason to anticipate great advantages from his future government; but they were totally disappointed, and found that his uncles had been too successful in enervating his mind, and giving him a dislike to the fatigue and responsibility attached to his exalted situation; that they might enjoy the exercise of his power, while he indulged his propensity for

for dissipation and dissolute company. These ambitious men were not aware that their pupil would exceed their wishes in this respect; but they found, to their disappointment, the king contrived to lavish large sums on his favourites, in addition to high honours; which made them and the majority of the nobles equally envious, malicious, and determined on revenge. The subsequent conduct of Richard was calculated to inflame the latter passion, and to deprive him of all hope of support from his people; who assembled in such numbers, at the summons of his enemies, that he became an unresisting victim to their arms; and is supposed to have been actually starved to death in Pontefract castle, about the year 1400.

Richard was remarkably handsome in his person; and had the reputation of being faithful and generous in his attachments, mild to his domesticks, and an excellent husband.

The most extraordinary and unexpected revolution in public opinion which England had ever witnessed was Tyler's insurrection. The abject state of the lower classes of people has been represented already as debasing their minds and brutalizing their manners; but the effects of this villanage or slavery had not hitherto been felt beyond the limits of the cottage, except in the case of the Jews; which might have served as a lesson to the successive governments, not to exact more

from man than man can bear. The general irritation excited by the poll tax of this reign, added to the previous ferment caused by long accumulated oppression, rendered it necessary to use severe measures in collecting it. Many serious disputes, without doubt, occurred on these occasions: but it was reserved for Walter the Tyler, of Deptford, to commence actual hostilities; which he did, by beating a collector's brains out with a hammer.

The terrors Walter naturally felt at the certain consequences of his rashness, induced him to make strong appeals to his neighbours; who, equally alarmed, communicated the contagion to others; till, in a very short time, presuming upon the rapid increase of their partizans, they formed themselves into something resembling a deliberative body; and Walter, being an enterprising barbarian, undertook to lead them into open rebellion. Himself, and others acting under him, immediately dispatched messengers in every direction, to command the people to follow their example, and prepare to revenge their common wrongs. The most complete and prompt obedience followed; and the new levies of Walter commenced their operations by setting fire to the mansions of the rich, after plundering them of their valuable contents.

On the 12th of June, 1381, their numbers assembled on Blackheath are stated to have amounted

to 100,000 men; when we find part of the force was entrusted to the direction of Jack Straw. This vast and lawless assembly moved forward towards London, seizing upon those knights and gentlemen who happened to fall in their way: one of whom they sent to the young king (who, terrified at his situation, had retired to the Tower as the place of the greatest safety), demanding that he would go to them, in order to hear their complaints against the archbishop of Canterbury and his uncles; the latter, unfortunately for the monarch, being absent from the seat of government.

The king consented to meet them on the following morning; and actually proceeded in his barge to Rotherhithe, where near 10,000 of the insurgents lined the banks of the Thames. Those immediately shouted on seeing the vessel; and so completely alarmed Richard and the nobles with him, that they returned to the Tower. This prudent measure enraged the party on the river side; and the flame soon reached the remainder at Blackheath: they instantly advanced, spreading desolation, and beheading every person they met above their own level. The city of London soon witnessed similar scenes; nor did the work of plunder, fire, and murder, cease, till the perpetrators sunk with fatigue and inebriety into temporary repose. A large party of the mob was stationed on Tower-hill. The king informed them he would hear their complaints at Mile-end, pro-

vided they peaceably retired there. The majority accepted his proposal; and Richard had the courage to go to the appointed meeting, with his retinue, unarmed. But the furious leaders Tyler and Straw, with a desperate band of ruffians, rushed into the Tower the moment the monarch left it; where they beheaded Sudbury archbishop of Canterbury and chancellor, and Sir Robert Hales the treasurer. The king had by this time demanded, of nearly 60,000 persons, what they required of him. They answered, the abolition of servitude, and their lands free. He complied; and actually employed a number of clerks on the spot, who delivered sealed charters of freedom and pardon to all demanding them.

Thus deprived of all shadow of complaint, the people dispersed to their homes; which were chiefly in Essex and Hertfordshire. Tyler and his myrmidons were not so easily satisfied; as they had formed the detestable plan of seizing the king, extirpating the nobility, and plundering the whole of the kingdom. Strange as it appears, we find the king in Smithfield, on the 15th of June, amidst 20,000 of these fiends.

Wat Tyler advanced to him, making the most extravagant and unmeaning demands, in language the most gross and insulting. The immortal Walworth, lord mayor of London, then in the king's suite, exasperated beyond forbearance at the insolence of this wretch, drew his sword, and, with one

one well-directed blow, struck him from his horse. Others of the attendants, seeing Tyler thus in their power, soon deprived him of life. At this critical moment, the king had the address and courage to offer himself in place of their fallen unworthy leader; and, desiring the insurgents to follow him into the fields, promised to grant them their demands. Irresolute as to their subsequent conduct, they complied; and during the interval employed in going there, and conversing with the king, Walworth assembled many armed citizens, with whom he proceeded to the relief of Richard.

The people, terrified at the approach of the mayor and his party, immediately solicited for mercy and pardon; which the monarch granted them with great clemency, on condition that they returned home immediately.

Although the alarming insurrection, thus unexpectedly quelled, seems, at first view, to have originated from the unpremeditated vengeance of Wat Tyler; we are well informed that the minds of the people had previously been prepared for revolt, by the declamations of designing persons, particularly a monk named John Ball; whose doctrines of equality of rights and property, acted upon, produced the dreadful effects just related; which, after all, ended in a recurrence of the old usages, by the repeal of all charters granted by the king on this occasion, and the execution of a great number of the most active of the rioters.

Political

Political jealousy has operated with so much violence throughout the history of nations, that it has seldom happened monarchs have met for pacific purposes. This circumstance makes it necessary to describe the ceremonies which distinguished the meeting of the kings of France and England, in the month of October, 1396, in the territories of the former.

The heralds having previously arranged the etiquette, the two sovereigns advanced on foot from their tents, at about ten o'clock in the morning, to a spot guarded by four hundred English and the same number of French knights, splendidly armed, and bearing their swords drawn: those immediately divided; and the kings, supported by the dukes of Lancaster and Gloucester, Berry and Burgundy, passed through the ranks. When they met, the whole of the knights kneeled; the kings, uncovered, saluted; and, taking each other's hands, the French monarch led Richard to a magnificent tent, followed by the four dukes in the same friendly manner.

Much conversation took place during the entertainment which succeeded; when the royal dukes of France served their master with the comfit-box and wine; and those of England did the same with their sovereign. The knights of the two nations then presented the prelates and nobles similar refreshments.

On

On the 28th, the king of England dined with his brother of France, at a table covered with every luxury; and near a sideboard, loaded with the richest plate. The latter sat at the head of the table, and Richard II. at some distance below him. The dukes of Berry, Burgandy, and Bourbon, served them. The duke of Bourbon entertained the kings with many facetious remarks; and observed to the king of England, that he ought to enjoy himself, as all his wishes were gratified; and that he would almost immediately receive his wife from the hands of her father the king of France.

"When dinner was over," says Froissart, "which lasted not long, the cloth was removed, the tables carried away, and wine and spices brought. After this, the young queen of England entered the tent, attended by a great number of ladies and damsels. The king led her by the hand, and gave her to the king of England, who instantly after took his leave. The queen was placed in a very rich litter, which had been prepared for her; but, of all the French ladies who were there, only the lady of Coucy went with her." The good cheer given on this occasion was extremely profuse; and the heralds and minstrels, according to Froissart, were so well paid that they were satisfied.

The lady Isabella was married to Richard at the church of St. Nicholas, Calais, by the archbishop of

of Canterbury; and her public entry into London was celebrated by a tournament at Smithfield.

The duplicity and baseness of Richard II. towards the duke of Gloucester, his uncle, cannot be excused by the unpopular and cruel character of the duke. Several instances have occurred in which the king and the judge have rejected all claims of affinity to the culprit before them, and administered the laws in the true spirit of their tenor, while their hearts were wrung with anguish. But Richard, though the duke deserved the death he had inflicted on others, appears in very little better light than an assassin, when engaged in the following scheme to secure his person. The king, having appointed such assistants as he could depend upon, went to his palace at Havering, in Essex, about equi-distant from London and Pleshy, the seat of the duke of Gloucester. There, under pretence of enjoying the pleasures of the chace, he passed through the neighbouring country, without exciting the least suspicion of his purpose; and at length, suddenly leaving the palace, on a very sultry afternoon, he arrived, with few attendants, at Pleshy about five o'clock.

The duke had supped; and, being extremely temperate in his living, had left the table, to enjoy the superior pleasures of retirement. Upon the porter's announcing the king, himself and family proceeded to the court-yard to welcome him.

him. Richard, fearful of betraying his cruel purpose, accepted of an invitation to partake of the supper, but ate little; and soon informed his uncle, that he expected him to accompany him to London immediately, with not more than five or six domesticks, where he was to meet the citizens on affairs of great importance; in settling of which, he wished to profit by his advice, and that of his uncles of York and Lancaster, who had promised to attend.

Perfectly successful in his stratagem, the king saw the duke mount his horse, in company with only three esquires, and as many vassals. Taking a hasty leave of the duchess, the party rode with great swiftness towards London, through cross roads, the king and the duke conversing with the utmost cheerfulness, till they reached Stratford; where the earl marshal was stationed, with a body of troops, to seize the duke. At the moment they reached the spot, the treacherous and cowardly king, spurred his steed, and, galloping forward, left his uncle to hear the dreadful words, "I arrest you in the king's name."

The artifice which Richard had practised when he inveigled his uncle, the duke of Gloucester, into the ambush he had prepared for him, was retorted upon himself not long before he lost his crown. The earl of Derby, whom he had banished, entered England, determined to repay the indignities and oppression he received from

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the king with ample revenge. Richard, dreading the fate which threatened him, retired to Flint castle for safety. The earl advanced towards that place with a considerable body of men; but resolved not to waste his time in a siege, unless he failed in a scheme which he planned, to secure the person of the king. To accomplish this, he selected two hundred horsemen, and proceeded to the gate of the fortress; and, knocking loudly, demanded admittance. Those within asked, who thus required entrance; and were informed by the earl, that he came to demand his inheritance, the dukedom of Lancaster.

Richard and his counsellors debated whether it would be proper to grant the earl's request; and at length determined in the affirmative. Richard, hoping the artful earl might be induced to mediate between himself and his discontented subjects, met him with a degree of confidence, which was soon abated by the imperative demand of Derby, whether he had broken his fast. Upon his replying that he had not, the earl recommended he should immediately breakfast, as he must ride many miles that day. Weak and irresolute in his determinations, the king seated himself before the table; but the alarming view of crowds of soldiers from the windows, who had by this time surrounded the castle, deprived him of appetite: he found he was betrayed; and, helpless, trusted his life in his enemy's hands; with the

the only condition, that the earl would conduct him in safety to the Tower of London.

Enough has been said on this subject to explain the manners of the court. I shall, therefore refer the reader for political facts to Froissart, and mention some particulars relating to the language of the time.

Ralph Higden, in his Polychronicon, translated by Trevisa, and printed by Master Caxton, speaking of the causes of the impairing of our language, says: "One is by cause that children that gone to scole lerne to speke first Englyshe, and then ben compelled to constrewe her lessions in Frensh, and that have ben used syn the Normons come into Englond. Also gentilmen's children ben lerned and taught from theyr yougthe to speke Frensh, and uplondysh men will counterfete and liken himself to gentilmen, and are besy to speke Frensh, for to be more sette by; wherefore it is sayd by the comyn proverbe, 'Jack wold be a gentilman if he coude speke Frensh.' To which John de Trevisa, his translator, adds as follows: "This maner was moche used tofore the grete *deth* (i. e. Plague, in 1349 or 1361); but syth it is somedele chaunged; for Sir John Cornuayl, a mayster of gramer, chaunged the techyng in gramer scole and construction of Frenshe; and other scolemaysters use the same way now, in the yere of our Lord 1365, the 9th yere of king Rychard the Secund; and leve all Frensh in scoles, and use

use all construction in Englyshe; wherein they have advantage one way, that is, that they lerne the sonner theyre gramer; and in another disadvantage, for nowe they lerne no Frensh, ne conne none, which is hurte for them that shal passe the see; and also gentilmen have moche left to teche theyr children to speke Frensh."

When Richard II. died, the particulars of whose death Froissart confesses he was unable to collect, the prevailing party had his body placed on a black litter, and under a canopy of the same colour; which was conveyed, at a solemn pace, to Cheapside; where it remained two hours exposed to the view of at least 20,000 persons.

Froissart, who had been secretary to Edward the grandfather of Richard, and queen Philippa, pays some compliments to his memory as a munificent monarch in his household; and mentions that he presented him, on his departure from Windsor, with a silver gilt goblet, weighing two marks, filled with one hundred nobles; which we may conclude was the custom of the day, instead of the bag or purse.

The tragical story of Evan of Wales, said to have been the son of a prince of that country beheaded by Edward I. related by Froissart, will serve to promote the purpose of this work. The above-mentioned chief was employed in the siege of Mortain, about the year 1380; when John Lambe, an esquire, arrived at the camp. This man,

man, who had been hired to assassinate Evan, was introduced to him as one who desired to assist in his military operations. Flattered by the expressions of Lambe, and his assertions that the whole principality of Wales were impatient to acknowledge him their sovereign, Evan admitted the traitor to his confidence, and made him his chamberlain.

It was the custom with the chief to rise early on fine mornings, and seat himself in front of the castle his troops invested, to enjoy the view of that object, and the surrounding country. Not aware of the least danger, he had no other attendant than Lambe on these occasions. His last excursion took place after a warm night, which was succeeded by a very beautiful dawn. "He went thither," says my authority, "all unbuttoned, with only his jacket and shirt, and his cloak thrown over him; when he seated himself as usual, attended by John Lambe. All the others were asleep; and no guard was kept, for he considered the castle of Mortain as conquered.

"After Evan had seated himself on the trunk of a tree, he said to John Lambe, 'Go, and seek my comb; for that will refresh me a little.' He answered, 'Willingly, my lord.' On his way to seek for the comb, or when returning with it, the devil must have entered the body of this John; for, with the comb, he brought a short Spanish dagger, that had a broad point, to accomplish

plish his evil intentions. He struck this dagger into Evan, whose body was almost naked, and pierced him through; so that he fell down dead."

It would be grateful to our present feelings could we remove this stigma on the customs of our court; but it is impossible, as Mr. Johnes quotes a passage from the Fœdera, which states the payment of one hundred francs to John Lambe and his *two companions*, for the acceptable service they had performed on the now unknown Evan of Wales, who cannot be identified with any person mentioned by Welsh authors consulted by the translator.

Froissart gives so satisfactory an account of the mode of challenging in his time, that I am tempted to transcribe the passage from Mr. Johnes's translation. Richard II. was at Eltham, where he entertained his courtiers. "When the day of the feast was arrived; and all the lords had retired, after dinner, with the king to his council chamber; the earl marshal, having settled in his own mind how to act and what to say, cast himself on his knees before the king, and thus addressed him: 'Very dear and renowned lord, I am of your kindred, your liegeman, and marshal of England; and I have beside sworn on my loyalty, my hand within yours, that I would never conceal from you any thing I might hear or see to your prejudice, on pain of being accounted a disloyal traitor.

traitor. This I am resolved never to be; but to acquit myself before you, and all the world.'

"The king, fixing his eyes on him, asked, 'Earl marshal, what is your meaning in saying thus? We will know it.' 'Very dear lord,' replied the earl, 'as I have declared, I will not keep any secret from you; order the earl of Derby to come to your presence, and I will speak out.'

"The earl of Derby was called for; and the king made the earl marshal rise, for he addressed him on his knees. On the earl of Derby's arrival (who thought no harm), the earl marshal spoke as follows: 'Earl of Derby, I charge you with having thought and spoke disrespectfully against your natural lord the king of England, when you said he was unworthy to hold his crown; that, without law or justice, or consulting his council, he disturbed the realm; and that, without any shadow of reason, he banished those valiant men from his kingdom who ought to be its defenders. For all of which, I present my glove; and shall prove, my body against yours, that you are a false and wicked traitor.'

"The earl of Derby was confounded at this address, and retired a few paces, without demanding from the duke his father, or any of his friends, how he should act. Having mused awhile, he advanced with his hood in his hand, towards the king, and said: 'Earl marshal, I say that

that thou art a false and wicked traitor, which I will bodily prove on thee; and here is my glove.'

"The earl marshal, seeing his challenge was accepted, shewed a good desire for the combat, by taking up the glove, and saying: 'I refer your answer to the good pleasure of the king, and the lords now present. I will prove that what you have said is false; and that my words are true."

The king consenting, preparations were made at Coventry for the combat; where a grand amphitheatre was erected, and provided with seats. On the day appointed, the two noblemen came into the vicinity of the lists, accompanied by their friends and relations. The duke of Aumerle acted as high constable for the day, and the duke of Surrey as high marshal. Each was attended by a number of persons bearing staffs, to preserve order, habited in silk embroidered with silver.

The earl of Derby, as the challenger, went first to the barriers of the lists, mounted on a white courser, barbed with green and blue velvet embroidered with golden swans and antelopes; and himself, completely armed at all points, bore his sword drawn in his right hand. The two officers met him, and demanded who he was. To which he replied, by declaring his name, and the cause of his appearance there; swearing, besides, upon the Evangelists, that his quarrel was just; and demanding to enter the lists upon that ground.

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He then pulled his beaver down, put up his sword, made the sign of the cross upon his forehead, entered the lists, dismounted, and seated himself on a chair of green velvet, placed within a traverse of green and blue velvet at one end of them. Richard soon after made his appearance, surrounded by his whole court, in the most superb dresses; with the earl of St. Paul (who came from France for the express purpose of witnessing the combat) in his train, and a guard of 10,000 men. Immediately after the monarch had taken his seat, proclamation was made, forbidding any person to touch the lists upon pain of death.

Another herald then proclaimed the presence of the earl of Derby; and that he was ready to prove his assertions, under the penalty of being considered false and cowardly. The duke of Norfolk instantly rode forward, armed, with his horse covered by crimson velvet, embroidered with silver lions and mulberry-trees; and, having performed similar ceremonies with his antagonist, proceeded to his chair, of crimson velvet, curtained by red and white damask. The marshal examined their spears, and restored them to the parties. The heralds commanded the chairs to be removed, and the combatants to commence the assault; which they had no sooner done, than the king threw down his warder. The heralds

exclaimed, " Ho! ———, &c. &c." They were banished.

The female excellence of England was always believed, on the best authority, to be hereditary, from the earliest ages. Repeated instances of the fact might be cited from our own authors; but they have less weight than those of other nations. Writing of our manners, Froissart speaks thus of the ladies of England, on their hearing of the marriage of the duke of Lancaster. " When this marriage was announced to the ladies of high rank in England, such as the duchess of Gloucester, the countess of Derby, the countess of Arundel, and others connected with the royal family, they were greatly shocked, and thought the duke much to blame."

They said, " he had sadly disgraced himself by thus marrying his concubine :" and added, " that since it was so, she would be the second lady in the kingdom, and the queen would be dishonourably accompanied by her; but that for their parts, they would leave her to do the honours alone; for they would never enter any place where she was. They themselves would be disgraced if they suffered such a base-born duchess, who had been the duke's concubine a long time before and during his marriages, to take precedence; and their hearts would burst with grief were it to happen."

Judging from the well-known liberality of modern authors, I feel no hesitation in saying, I firmly

firmly believe Mr. Douce will excuse my giving an abstract of his observations on the custom of wearing liveries and badges, from his elaborate and entertaining "Illustrations of Shakspeare."

This gentleman says, "that the practice of furnishing servants with liveries may be traced in some of the statutes ordained in the reign of Richard the Second. And that in the reign of Edward the Fourth, badge and livery were synonymous; the latter word being derived from the French term, signifying the delivery of any particular thing. The badge was then, as at present, the armorial bearings, the crest or device of the master, executed in cloth or metal, and sewed to the left sleeve of the habit." Greene, in his "Quip for an upstart Courtier," speaking of some serving-men, says, "their cognizance, as I remember, was a peacock without a tayle."

According to Hentzner, whose Travels in England were published at Nuremburg, 1612, the nobility gave silver badges; and we find from Fynes Morison, that the servants of gentlemen had worn blue coats, with silver badges of their masters' devices on the left sleeve, which were then in some degree less fashionable; and they commonly had cloaks edged with lace, all the servants of one family wearing the same livery, for colour and ornament." This fact leads to the supposition, that the badge on the sleeve was disused in the reign of James I. Though it had been

so constant an accompaniment to a blue coat, as to have produced the proverbial saying, of "like a blue coat without a badge."

Liveries and badges were not wholly confined to menial servants. The Retainers, a class of men of considerable importance at that period, and who did not reside with their employers, attending only on days of ceremony, received an annual gift of a suit of clothes, a hat, or hood, and a badge: a quotation from "A Health to the gentlemanly Profession of Serving Men," or "The Serving-man's Comfort, 1598," explains the description of persons accepting the office of Retainer. Amongst what sort of people should, then, this serving-man be sought for? Even the duke's son preferred page to the prince, the earl's second son attendant upon the duke, the knight's second son the earl's servant, the esquire's son to wear the knight's livery, and the gentleman's son the esquire's serving-man. Yea, I know at this day, gentlemen, younger-brothers, that wear their elder brother's blue coat and badge, attending him with as reverend regard and dutiful obedience, as if he were their prince or sovereign.

One of the inevitable consequences of keeping numerous Retainers, was quarrels between those of different families, and licentious excesses, which suggested the propriety of licensing them. Strype, mentioning the latter fact, declares, "that Queen Mary granted thirty-nine licences of re-

tainer

tainer during her reign, but Elizabeth only fifteen. Gardiner, the prelate, had two hundred retainers. The duke of Norfolk in the latter reign was allowed one hundred; which the Queen never exceeded; and archbishop Parker had no more than forty."

"Before we dismiss the present subject," says Mr. Douce, "it will be necessary to observe, that the badge occurs in all the old representations of posts, or messengers. On the latter of these characters it may be seen in the fifty-second plate of Mr. Strutt's first volume of the "Dress and Habits of the People of England," where, as in the most antient instances, the badge is affixed to the girdle: but it is often seen on the shoulder, and even on the hat, or cap.

"These figures extend as far back as the thirteenth century, and many old German engravings exhibit both the characters with a badge, that has sometimes the device, or arms of the town, to which the post belongs. He has generally a spear in his hand, not only for personal security, but for repelling any nuisance that might interrupt his progress.

"Among ourselves the remains of the antient badge are still preserved in the dresses of porters, firemen, and watermen, and, perhaps, in the shoulder-knots of footmen. The blue coat and badge still remain with the parish and hospital boys."

Henry

Henry IV. obtained the crown of England by means which at once established his character as an ambitious man, who would suffer nothing to prevent the indulgence of his favourite wishes; a subject who saw his sovereign perish with famine that himself might profit by his death, could not make a good king. He was envied and disliked, and had to contend against plots and insurrections for more than half of his reign: and that he at length subdued his numerous enemies, is a proof of the superior talents he possessed as a soldier and a politician.

Dr. Henry has given a sketch of the manner of living between 1399 and 1485, in his excellent "History of England," an analysis of which follows. That gentleman, consulting various antient authorities, gives it as his opinion, "that the lower classes lived very wretchedly indeed." And this may have been the fact, in a certain degree; but it requires considerable faith in the infallibility of Pope Pius II. to believe his assertion, as Æneas Silvius, "that the inhabitants of a populous village in Northumberland, where he lodged in 1437, had never *seen* either *wine* or *wheat-bread*, and that they expressed great surprise when they saw them on his table."

Many of the common people are stated to have died of hunger in times of great scarcity; and we cannot doubt the veracity of the statement, after considering the excessive waste of food caused by the

the lavish entertainments of the Barons, and the high living of the Clergy. At the same time it would not be amiss to enquire where this profusion was procured. Did they import their Wheat; or was it produced in the country? How were the materials of the *glutton masses* obtained? "These Glutton Masses," says Dr. H. from Wilkins's Concilia, tom. 3, p. 389, "were celebrated five times a year, in honour of the Virgin Mary, in this manner: early in the morning *the people of the parish assembled in the church, loaded with ample stores of meats and drinks of all kinds;* as soon as mass ended, the feast began, in which the Clergy and Laity engaged with equal ardour.

"The church was turned into a tavern, and became a scene of excessive riot and intemperance. The priests and people of different parishes entered into formal contests, which of them should have the greatest Glutton Masses, *i. e.* which of them should devour the greatest quantity of meat and drink."

We will now turn to the Household book of the earls of Northumberland, the very county where wheat, bread, and wine, never were seen by part of the inhabitants. An earl and countess of the above family were in the habit of breakfasting on Sundays, Tuesdays, Thursdays, and Saturdays, in the holy fast of Lent, "on a loaf of bread, in trenchors, *two manchetts*, a quart

quart of beer, *a quart of wine*, &c. &c." Now we all know that the manchet was a loaf of the *finest white bread*, weighing six ounces. This circumstance is sufficient alone, to disprove what has been advanced by Silvius. Besides, the common people must have *seen* wine; at least, whenever the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper was celebrated.

The same curious book contains convincing proofs, that the house of Percy entertained great numbers of their rich and noble friends, retainers, and *vassals*, at sumptuous feasts; when the lord of the mansion presided, "at the head of his long, clumsy, oaken board," and his guests were seated, according to their gradations of rank, on each side upon long benches. "The table was loaded with capacious pewter dishes, filled with salted beef, mutton, and butcher's meat of all kinds, with venison, poultry, sea fowls, wild fowls, game, fish, &c. &c. dressed in different ways, according to the fashion of the times. The side-boards were plentifully furnished with ale, beer, and *wines*; which were handed to the company, when called for, in pewter and wooden cups, by the mareschals, grooms, yeomen, and waiters of the chamber, ranged in regular order."

Surely the vassals who partook of these, and similar entertainments given by the rich in all parts of the country, made them familiar with white bread and wine, though they, perhaps, did not

not often taste of the latter; but they certainly assisted in raising and grinding the wheat for the former. The order and regularity preserved on these occasions, were strictly in unison with the ideas of decorum of the times; and yet it may be imagined, that they rather resembled a farmer's ordinary, in a town remote from London, than the dinners of a modern Earl, or Baron: for, without descending to farther particulars, we are aware forks were not then invented. The refinement, however, was known, of decorating the table with pastry, in various figures; which were labelled with witty remarks suited to the occasion of the feast, and hence they were called *Suttleties*. And though these were not to be eaten, three courses are mentioned to have been served; and the time occupied in drinking was usually three hours, from ten o'clock till one.

"It was now become the custom in great families to have four meals a day; *viz.* breakfasts, dinners, suppers, and liveries." They had their breakfast at seven, dinner at ten, supper at four, and the livery between eight and nine, in their chambers. The Household-book already quoted, mentions the latter to have consisted of bread, beer, and wine, spiced. The hours of the middle ranks of life were more rational; as they breakfasted at eight, dined at noon, and supped at six.

The

The humble dependant upon the smiles and favour of the great found an asylum in their houses, at this æra. Sir Hugh Linne, an antient soldier of great courage, is mentioned by Hayward, in his reign of Henry IV. as the obsequious but at the same time merry attendant of any nobleman who would give him admittance, which he repaid by whimsical observations, and jests upon men and things. The king, wavering between the danger of risking a contest with some of his nobles, and that of exciting farther presumption by remaining passive when they had recourse to arms, demanded of Sir Hugh, in a moment of pleasantry, "What he had best do?" Sir Hugh swore, "Swownes and snails! let us set upon them, and kill every man and mother's child: and so we shall *make riddance of the best friends you have in the realm.*"

Infidelity in the marriage state was known in the reign of Henry IV.; one instance of which, on the side of the gentleman, was, as is too often the case, in high life. "Robert, duke of Ireland," says Sir John Hayward, in his history of the above monarch, "forsook the company of his lawful wife, whose mother Lady Isabel was daughter to King Edward the Third; and, instead of her, he took unto him a base Bohemian, a taverner's daughter." Henry did not notice this misconduct of the Duke, perhaps through

through the confusion then prevailing in the state, and as considering infidelity eclipsed by many greater vices in the party.

The Duke of Gloucester, the lady's uncle, thought otherwise; and, acting upon a manly principle of justice, seized every opportunity to punish the offender, and excite remorse. The effect of this rupture is not within the limits of my work; I shall therefore only add, the conduct of the latter was as base and deceitful, as his antagonist's was generous.

It is impossible to review these distant periods of our history without emotions of abhorrence at the incessant waste of life caused by foreign enterprise and domestic contentions. At one time we find thousands assembled to prosecute a senseless and fruitless crusade, at another to invade France or Scotland; and, finally, we see them arrayed to support persons in their pretensions to the crown, each of which was founded in present or past usurpation. On all these occasions the multitude were compelled to obey the call of their lords; but it is past our comprehension to imagine what could have induced the higher classes to offer themselves as victims to ambition, with such eager avidity; and particularly for monarchs of the characters of Henry VI. and Edward IV. — the former weak and imbecile, and altogether unfit for a king, and the latter a cruel, debauched, tyrant.

This

This fact plainly demonstrates that a martial species of manners descended through every generation of Englishmen, down to the era when our domestic contests were confined to the systematic resistance of oppression.

Many of the nobles, of the highest rank and opulence, lived with great splendour; and their hospitality to knights and gentlemen, the younger brothers of large families, attached them to their patrons by the double ties of gratitude and interest. Thus powerful persons secured their services, and, by appointing them to household offices, exhibited a degree of splendour not to be attained through mere mercenaries. This circumstance will, therefore, account in a great degree for the numbers of people of condition found extended upon the field of battle when the nation divided on political affairs.

The ferocious animosity of the contending parties, when opposed to each other on these occasions, has no example in modern warfare. The mode of fighting greatly contributed to this end; and, added to the constant succession of appeals to arms, made each individual little better than a murderer. Were we to read our antient historians solely with a view to collect instances of battles when no quarter was granted or received, and examples of brutal courage, the retrospect would afford an unpleasant conviction, that almost two-thirds of our male population throughout

throughout several ages have perished by the sword.

Besides, this savage and sanguinary state of the country produced the hateful custom of killing prisoners, through revenge. The same motives actuated relatives, and assassinations consequently became too frequent. And even Kings, and the most eminent of the nobility, equally inflicted and suffered from the universal indulgence of that execrable passion; which may also be supposed to have influenced those ladies, after the loss of their husbands, sons, or parents, who took the field, and exerted all their strength and spirit against their enemies, between the years 1400 and 1500.

The enquiry when the English began to use expletives and imprecations in their intercourse with each other, would prove extremely disgusting; that they have distinguished us for many centuries, we have the concurring testimonies of several authors.

"The English," says Dr. Henry, "were remarkable in this period (between 1399 and 1485) among the nations of Europe, for the absurd and impious practice of prophane swearing, in conversation. The Count of Luxemburg, accompanied by the earls of Warwick and Stafford, visited the Maid of Orleans in her prison at Rouen, where she was chained to the floor, and loaded with irons; the Count, who had sold her to the English,

English, pretended that he had come to treat with her about her ransom.

"Viewing him with just resentment and disdain, she cried, Begone! you have neither the power to ransom me. Then, turning her eyes towards the two earls, she said, I know that you English are determined to put me to death, and imagine that after I am dead, you will conquer France. But though there were an 100,000 G—Dam'mees more in France than there are, they will never conquer that kingdom. So early had the English got this odious nick-name by their too frequent use of that horrid imprecation."

A contemporary historian, who had frequently conversed with Henry VI. mentions it as a very remarkable and extraordinary peculiarity in the character of that prince, "that he did not swear in common conversation; but reproved his ministers and officers of state when he heard them swearing."

Caxton speaks thus of the manners of the youth in his time: "I see that the children that be born in London increase and profit, not like their fathers and elders, but, for most part, after that they be come to their perfect years of discretion, and ripeness of age, how well that their fathers have left to them great quantities of goods, yet scarcely among ten, two thrive.

"O blessed Lord! when I remember this, I am all abashed: I cannot judge the cause: but fairer,

fairer, nor wiser, nor better-spoken children in their youth, be no where than there be in London. But at their full ripening, there is no carnal * nor good corn found, but chaff for the most part."

The irregularities committed by Henry V. while Prince of Wales were, to all appearance and probability, the result of a vicious disposition, rendered still more so by the ample means of indulgence he possessed. Gloomy, therefore, seemed the prospect his subjects had before them; but that gloom was in a considerable degree dispelled by the manly and considerate manner in which he endured the disgrace it procured him, from a strict and impartial administration of the laws of the realm by an intrepid judge, his courage in the field, his banishment of all the loose companions who surrounded him during his thoughtless hours; and finally, he confirmed their hopes by the appointment of grave and experienced persons to all places of dignity and importance.

Nature had formed this monarch in her most happy moments; and, besides endowing him with the graces of feature and form, gave him sagacity, courage, prudence, and other virtues, which made him invincible in the field, great in the cabinet, and, above all, conspicuous in the

* *i. e.* Kernel.

exercise

exercise of the duties of husband, father, and friend.

It may not be amiss to mention some particulars relating to the battle of Agincourt, in the reign of Henry V. as they will serve to shew the courage and address of the British nation at that time. Which qualities have since existed in full effect, though the mode of fighting has caused their exercise to be far more limited than when the English carried their victorious arms into the heart of France. Some degree of rashness had led the brave Henry into difficulties which required the utmost exertions of his talents to extricate himself from.

Without entering into particulars, it may be sufficient to say that disorders, incident to their situation, had reduced the English army to ten thousand men; many of whom were either seriously indisposed, or convalescents. With this very inadequate force, he found himself compelled to contend against at least one hundred thousand; exclusive of a deprivation of all kinds of supplies, except such as they could obtain at the point of the sword, or induce the people to bring, tempted by liberal prices.

The king, thus circumstanced, commenced a retreat; which he conducted in so politic a manner that it did not in the most distant degree resemble a flight. He led his men gradually forward, partaking with them in all their hardships and

and deprivations; and conversed with the common soldiers in familiar and cheerful terms. They at length reached the Somme, but found that the enemy had rendered the ford impassable, by driving stakes into the bottom of the river, and stationed themselves in great force on the opposite bank. Disappointed, but not dismayed, Henry advanced along the river till he found a pass near Bethencourt, where having crossed, he reached Agincourt on the 24th of October, 1415.

The French army had information of Henry's route, and met him at the village just mentioned. The latter immediately reconnoitered their position, and was convinced he could proceed no farther without risking a battle. Favoured by a clear moon-light, he collected his most experienced officers, and made choice of the ground which he thought best calculated to render the numbers of the enemy disadvantageous to themselves. He then returned to his quarters, and the night was passed in perfect quiet, and in mutual encouragement to meet the dangers of the following morning, with a determination to conquer or perish. In a single instance the brave Monarch heard one of his nobles wish a part of the knights and their vassals then in England idle were there to assist them;—"No," exclaimed the king, "I would not have one man more. If we are defeated, we are too many: if it should please God to give us

the victory, as I trust he will, the smaller our number the greater our glory."

The first operation of the 25th was to take the ground previously chosen, which immediately compelled the constable (d'Albert) to compress his men into so small a compass that they were literally nearly unable to move their arms. Henry, having thus contrived to force his opponents into a front of only 13,000 men, placed a party of archers in ambush so as to flank their lines. He then dismissed his prisoners on their parole, sent his baggage into the village of Agincourt in his rear, caused the whole of his front to be secured with pointed stakes driven into the ground to defend it from the approach of cavalry, and arranged his men behind them, each armed with bows and arrows, a battle axe, and sword.

Seizing the dread interval when the two armies were thus opposed to each other in perfect silence, Henry rode in front of his troops, in the full majesty of his nature, in bright armour, and his helmet encircled by a crown of gold, set with rich jewels. As his noble white charger pranced along the line he greeted the men; told them the French had resolved to deprive each of their prisoners, made that day, of three fingers of their right hands; and added, he that distinguished himself should thenceforward be considered a gentleman and entitled to bear coat armour.

Roused

Roused by the spirited conduct of their sovereign, the troops expressed the utmost eagerness for action; and actually almost stripped themselves, that they might exert the full energy of their bodies. The moment the charge sounded the front rank kneeled, and kissed the ground; and rising, discharged a flight of arrows, which did great execution in the closed ranks of the French. The soldiers in ambush, also, did their part; and when all their arrows were expended, the murderous contest of swords and battle axes commenced; and the soldiers on both sides mixing, each fought man to man.

The duke d'Alençon, with the line he commanded, had vowed to take or kill our brave Henry, or meet with death at his hands. In three hours the defeat of the French was completed. Far from being intemperate in his success, the sagacious hero of Agincourt saw the necessity of keeping his men together. He, therefore, directed them to make as many prisoners as they could, without advancing far beyond the field of battle; which they did to the amount of 7000 barons, knights, and gentlemen; amongst whom were the dukes of Bourbon and Orleans, and many other persons of high rank. The loss they sustained in killed consisted of the dukes of Bar, Brabant, and Alençon, the archbishop of Sens, 102 nobles, 1500 knights, and considerable numbers of soldiers.

It seems to have been agreed by our historians, that Henry VI. was altogether unfit for the exalted situation in which fortune had placed him. Weak in his intellects, and governed without the least attempt at resistance by his ambitious subjects, it is by no means surprizing that they at length succeeded in depriving him of his crown. When he was thus reduced to their level, he bore his misfortunes with meekness and patience; and totally disarmed his successor of every wish to take a life that had been passed temperately, chastely, devoutly, and, in every respect, consonant to the laws of morality. His subsequent treatment, therefore, marked by every base indignity, reflects but little credit on the feelings and manners of the age; and prepares the mind for the murderous close of his life in the Tower, after the return of Edward his rival to London, by the hands of the duke of Gloucester.

It gives us pleasure to find instances of modesty of manners in the history of our characteristics. When a king appears sensible of any particular impropriety, and publicly notices it, we may safely suppose his courtiers take the hint, and their copyists in humbler life spread it. Thus a fashion is established in manners, as rapidly as in dress.

Henry VI. celebrated for his modesty and chastity, once witnessed a masque intended for his amusement. The ladies who assisted in the performance

performance were rather wantonly dressed, exhibiting part of their breasts and their hair loose on their necks. The king, though unmarried, immediately rose, and left the apartment; exclaiming, "Fie, fie, forsooth you are much to blame."

The year 1450 introduced a repetition of the uncommon scenes presented by Tyler's insurrection. The new hero, who was to convince us little alteration had taken place in the wishes and conduct of the people, assumed the name of John Mortimer, but his real one was John Cade; and his followers gave him that of John *Amend-all*, from his professing to restore their rights, and reform every abuse in the state. It has never been clearly ascertained whether ambitious persons of high rank prompted this insurrection, or whether it proceeded from the daring spirit of Cade.

Blackheath was once more the rendezvous of the commons of Kent, who from thence petitioned the king, in respectful terms, to adopt the counsels of the dukes of York, Buckingham, Norfolk, and Exeter, and the other well-disposed nobles of the realm, to redress several grievances, and punish those who had not only lost the foreign dominions of the crown, but oppressed the inhabitants of England. Many of the persons proscribed by this address belonged to the privy council; consequently it was determined, instead

of

of complying with it, to disperse the malcontents by force; which method utterly failing, Cade returned to his quarters at Blackheath; where the Government thought it advisable to enter into a negotiation with him, and deputed the archbishop of Canterbury and the duke of Buckingham for this purpose.

Cade treated the commissioners with great respect; but refused to relinquish his formidable position, unless his requisitions were complied with. The Court, doubtful of the loyalty of the army, retired from London, after sending lord treasurer Say and Seale to the Tower, as an act of deference to the insurgents; who, thus encouraged, entered the city, and immediately executed the lord just mentioned, and his son-in-law, Cromer, sheriff of Kent. Elated by this success, and prompted by Cade, they soon began to plunder in every direction; which exciting the resentment of the wealthy citizens, they fairly beat them out of London. At this critical moment the two archbishops, then in the Tower, issued a pardon to all those who retired to their homes. Thousands instantly accepted it, and left Cade a fugitive for his life; which he lost in a very short time at Heathfield, in Sussex, where he had concealed himself in a garden.

Edward IV. was an instance of the horrid consequences attending vice. When he commenced his reign, his subjects admired the beauty of his person

person and features, improved by the vivacity and activity of youth; but, before he had attained his forty-first year, they beheld him with disgust, the bloated victim of intemperance.

This monarch has been celebrated for his tenacious memory; yet his oaths and promises often escaped his recollection. His military talents were great, and successful; but he fought domestic enemies: and all the blood that flowed in his quarrels was that of Englishmen; and, true to his ambitious character, he added cruelty to usurpation; and sent numbers to the scaffold, through motives of revenge; one of whom was his own brother, the duke of Clarence.

Amongst the various methods adopted by the early friends of morality to discountenance and punish vice, was the custom of compelling offenders to perform penance. This was done in various ways; but most publicly, by compelling the party to walk at a solemn pace through the body of a church, dressed in white, and bearing a lighted taper.

History, perhaps, doth not afford another instance of penance more impressive than that of Jane Shore, the beautiful mistress of Edward the Fourth, and afterwards of the lord Hastings. Jane was the daughter of respectable and worthy parents, and a native of London; where she married Master Shore, at rather an early period of life, and without feeling for him that degree of affection

affection necessary to secure her fidelity. Thus unfortunately situated, the king saw, admired, and seduced her. Shore, disdaining to share a wife even with a monarch, resigned all pretensions to her person; and the lady immediately became the admiration of the day—the infatuated mistress, not the virtuous wife.

"Proper she was, and fair," says Sir Thomas More; "nothing in her body that you could have changed, but if you would have wished her somewhat higher. This say they that knew her in her youth. Some said and judged that she had been well favoured, and some judged the contrary; whose judgement seemeth like as men guess the beauty of one long before departed, by a shape taken out of a charnel-house; and this judgement was in the time of king Henry VIII. (in the eighteenth year of whose reign she died) when she had nothing but a rivelled skin and bone."

The extreme suavity of manners, the benevolence, the wit, and generosity of the unhappy Jane, rendered her an object of commiseration to the congregation at St. Paul's, when she was condemned to do penance for her sins, by order of the bishop of London, at the command of the duke of Gloucester, who pursued her, as the mistress of Hastings, with unrelenting and unmanly hatred. "He caused her," says Sir Thomas, "to go before a cross, one Sunday, at procession,

cession, with a taper in her hand. In the which she went in countenance and pace demure so womanly; and albeit she was out of all array, saving her kirtle only, yet went she so fair and lovely, namely, when the wondering of the people cast a comely red in her cheeks (of the which before she had most miss), that her great shame won her much praise amongst those that were more amorous of her body than curious of her soul; and many good folk that hated her living, and were glad to see sin corrected, yet pitied they more her penance than rejoiced at it; when they considered, that the Protector did it more of a corrupt intent than any virtuous affection."

From these anecdotes of Jane Shore, and her penance, it will be perceived, that one custom, not very honourable to those who exercised it, was in full vigour—that of keeping mistresses. The king thought himself entitled perhaps to greater indulgence, in this particular, than his subjects: he therefore had three.

Edward was in the habit of saying he possessed three concubines, who had each their peculiar qualities. Shore was the merriest; another the wisest; and the third the most pious harlot in the realm, who could not be prevailed upon to leave the church for any enticement beyond the king's wishes. The ladies he alluded to, being of more

more importance in life than Shore, were therefore nameless.

If we admit as founded in fact all that has been said of Richard III. as a base and artful usurper, tyrant, and murderer, we must blush at being of his species. It seems extremely probable that he possessed strong natural abilities, which, had they been governed by a liberal and manly spirit, might have rendered him an honour to the nobility. Under those circumstances, he would not have aspired to the throne. The very knowledge that he did possess it, fixes his character for infamy, beyond any *historic doubts.*

The custom of taking Sanctuary was confined within bounds in London; as the abbey of St. Peter's, Westminster, and St. Martin's-le-grand, were the only places allowed that privilege, which seems to have been coeval with the foundation of the former. Amongst the virtuous who fled there for refuge, was the widow of Edward IV. with her son, the duke of York. This step greatly embarrassed the duke of Gloucester and his friends; who were at a loss how to capture them, without violating the rights of the church — a measure then too dangerous even for a vindictive, artful, and cruel usurper. In relating the particulars of this event, Sir Thomas More, in his life of Edward the Fifth, gives several circumstances which occurred in the council explanatory of the Sanctuary.

The archbishop of Canterbury mentioned the antiquity of the custom; and the fact that not one king, who had borne the sceptre of England, had ever attempted to interfere with it: so well convinced they were of its importance in preserving the lives of the innocent. He therefore recommended persuasives only to accomplish their wishes.

The duke of Buckingham insinuated, that the Sanctuary would be considered as a very trifling obstacle by the people, were they disposed to demand the queen; which he hypocritically deprecated, though he could not help thinking good men might less value its privileges, without committing a serious offence against religion; not that he would, by any means, interfere with so venerable an institution: yet he would, without scruple, oppose a similar were it now first introduced. He admitted it was a deed of piety, that men deprived of their property by shipwreck, and other means, should have a place of refuge from the malice of their creditors. Besides, he acknowledged there were advantages attending it, when civil contentions forced the partizans of either side to take asylum from the terrors of the axe. But, instead of this commendable use of the Sanctuary, it was known to abound with thieves and murderers. "Now, look," said the duke, "how few Sanctuary-men there be whom necessity or misfortune compelled to go thither: and

and then see, on the other side, what a sort there be commonly therein, of such whom wilful unthriftiness hath brought to nought; what a rabble of thieves, murderers, and malicious heinous traitors be, and that in two places especially, the one at the elbow of the city, and the other in the very bowels. I dare well avow it, if you weigh the good that they do with the hurt that cometh of them, ye shall find it much better to lose both than to have both.

"And this I say, although they were not abused as they now be, and so long have been, that I fear me ever they will be, while men be afraid to set their hands to the amendment; asthough God and St. Peter were the patrons of ungracious living.

"Now, unthrifts riot and run in debt upon boldness of these places; yea, and rich men run thither with poor men's goods; where they build, there they spend, and bid their creditors go whistle. Men's wives run thither with their husbands' plate, and say they dare not abide with their husbands for beating. Thieves bring thither stolen goods, and live thereon: there devise they new robberies nightly; and steal out, and rob, rive, and kill men; and come again into those places, as though those places gave them not only a safeguard for the harm that they have done, but a licence also to do more mischief."

It has been justly observed, that Henry VII. explained much of his character by the reserved and haughty manner in which he secluded himself from the view of the Londoners, by entering that city in a litter, after the battle of Bosworth field. A man, who on such an occasion could disappoint the curiosity, and check the rising loyalty of his people, must have been defective in the best qualities of the head and heart; and, in confirmation of this position, we find the history of his reign affords reason to conclude, he was far from a kind husband, incapable of friendship, and, towards the latter part of his life, exceedingly superstitious. Many of the public acts of his reign are praised by our historians. Others are less honourable, particularly those towards the House of York, and the means by which he collected greater sums than any preceding monarch had obtained from the people.

The pride of office, the pride of station, and the pride of riches, prevailed at this period quite as much as at present. The person erect; the eye disdainfully averted; the measured step; and the disinclination to return the salutations of the humble (observable in the really noble, and the recently elevated), did not escape the keen inspection of the satirist.

"How often have I heard people say," remarks Elyot, in his 'Governour,' "when men in great authority have passed by, without making gentill

gentill countenance to those which have done to them reverence, 'This man weeneth with a look to subdue all the world!' Nay, nay, men's hearts be free, and will love whom they list. And thereto all the other do consent in a murmur as it were of bees. When a nobleman passeth by, shewing to men a gentill and familiar visage, it is a world to behold how people taketh comfort; how the blood in their visage quickeneth; how their flesh stirreth, and hearts leap for gladness. Then they all speak as it were in an harmony. The one sayeth, 'Who, beholding this man's most gentill countenance, will not, with all his heart, love him?' Another saith, 'He is no man; but an angel. See how he rejoiceth all men that behold him!' Finally, all do grant, that he is worthy all honour that may be given or wished him."

Cardinal Wolsey, who lived at this precise period, was an example of the first character drawn by Elyot. His gentleman usher and faithful attendant, to the last moment of his existence, published a narrative of the life of this proud prelate;—a man who had "more regard to the honour of his person than to his spiritual function; wherein he should have expressed more meekness and humility. For pride and ambition are both linked together; and ambition is like choler; which is an humour that makes men active, earnest, and full of alacrity, and stirring, if it be not

not stopped or hindered in its course. But if it be stopped, and cannot have its way, it becometh adust, and thereby malign and venomous.

"So ambitious and proud men, if they find the way open for their rising and advancement, and still get forwards, they are rather busy than dangerous: but if they be checked in their desires, they become secretly discontent, and look upon men and matters with an evil eye; and are best pleased when things go backwards. But I forbear to speak any further."

Thus wrote the servant of the Cardinal; whom we will now introduce on his way to Westminster, in all the pride of office; and, conscious of his importance, exciting in the breast of the spectators the sentiment—"This man weeneth with a look to subdue all the world."

When the Cardinal first issued from his privy chamber in Term, he generally heard two masses in his chapel. Returning there, he enquired of his attendants whether themselves were ready, and had prepared the waiting and presence chambers. About eight o'clock, he again left his private apartment, in the cardinal's habit of crimson taffata or crimson satin, with a scarlet pillion, and a tippet of sable round his neck; bearing in his hand, as was his constant practice on these occasions, an orange deprived of its contents, and filled with a sponge impregnated with vinegar, &c. to

preserve

preserve him from infection, when passing through the crowds his splendour or office attracted.

A lord, or person of eminence, bore the hat; and another the great seal before him. He then entered the presence-chamber; where his two crosses were in waiting, and a numerous levee of noblemen. The gentlemen ushers exclaimed, "On masters before, and make room for my lord!" — who descended into the hall, preceded by a serjeant at arms with a silver mace, and two gentlemen with silver plates; his mule, covered with crimson velvet, waited for him at the door of his palace; and, being mounted, he followed his two crosses and two pillars, carried by persons on horseback, and was himself surrounded by four footmen armed with pole-axes, and a considerable number of gentlemen of various ranks.

Very few facts are related in our antient authors which enable us to comprehend the manners and usages of private life. On the other hand, they are diffuse upon the most trivial circumstances relating to the powerful. Some traits should be given to illustrate the customs of the latter; and the life of Wolsey will furnish a curious instance of a subject emulating one of the most dread sovereigns England has known.

Wolsey being raised to the dignity of cardinal, in addition to his archbishopric and chancellorship, felt himself superior to all spiritual controul;

troul; and, as has already been said, passed from place to place in all the pomp allowed by the Romish church. Indeed such was his ambition in this particular, that he selected two of the tallest priests in the kingdom to bear his crosses before him. His household consisted of a steward, who was in priest's orders, a treasurer, who had the honour of knighthood, a comptroller, an esquire, a confessor, a doctor in divinity, three marshals, three ushers of the hall, two almoners, and a number of grooms.

The officers of his hall-kitchen were two clerks, a clerk comptroller, a surveyor of the dresser, a clerk of the spicery, two cooks, their assistants and children amounting to twelve individuals, four scullions, two yeomen of the pastry, and two paste layers.

The master cook, who presided in the kitchen, wore a superb dress of velvet or satin, and was decorated with a chain of gold. He had six assistants, and two deputies.

The larder had a yeoman and a groom. The scullery and buttery an equal number of persons each; the ewry the same; the cellar three yeomen and three pages; the chandery two yeomen, and the waifery two.

The wardrobe of beds was superintended by a master, with twenty assistants: the laundry, a yeoman, a groom, and thirteen pages, two yeomen surveyors, and a groom surveyor. In the

bake-house were two yeomen and grooms; in the wood-yard one and a groom; in the barn one yeoman. Two porters, two yeomen, and two grooms waited at his gates.

His barge had a yeoman; and for the care of his horses there was a master, a clerk of the stables, a yeoman, a yeoman of the stirrup, a farrier, a malt tour, and sixteen grooms, "*every one of them keeping four geldings.*"

For the purposes of state he had two cross and two pillar bearers, for his great chamber; and the privy chamber was under the direction of a chamberlain, a vice-chamberlain, and two gentlemen ushers. Six gentlemen waiters, and twelve others, were added to ten lords, who did not think themselves dishonoured by attending the movements of the arrogant Cardinal; each of those had two or three footmen, and the earl of Derby was followed by five.

At meals he had gentlemen carvers and cup-bearers; "*and of the privy chamber, forty persons,*" exclusive of six yeomen ushers, and eight grooms of his chamber, twelve doctors of divinity, a clerk of the closet, two secretaries, and two clerks of his signet, besides four learned counsel.

The attendants of his temporal office were a riding clerk, a clerk of the crown, of the hanaper, and a chafer, and them of the cheque, and four running footmen, richly habited. A herald, and

serjeant

serjeant at arms, a physician, an apothecary, four minstrels, a keeper of the tents, an armourer, an instructor of his wardrobe, a keeper of his chamber, a surveyor of York, and a clerk of the green cloth.

The chapel of this establishment was most honourably appointed; and the ornaments of it were extremely grand and expensive. The service was performed by a dean, a man of eminence, a sub-dean, a repeater of the choir, a gospeller, an epistler, of the singing priests, and a master of the children. The vestry had a yeoman and two grooms. The gentleman who gives the substance of the above account, declares, that he had seen in procession about the hall, forty-four rich cosses of one set, besides the superb candlesticks, and other necessary ornaments; and that the number of persons on the "Cheyne Roll" of the household was *eight hundred.*

Having thus presented the reader with a sketch of the princely magnificence of Wolsey, I shall exhibit him in all his glory in the presence of his master, from the same authority. Henry, fond of luxurious living, seems to have had no objection to partake of the good things the policy and the pride of his servant provided for his gratification; as, on his receiving the honour of a visit, every engine was employed to procure the best of viands, the most beautiful female dancers, and the most experienced comedians,

masquers, or mummers, to entertain him with scenic exhibitions, while his ears were regaled with instrumental and vocal music.

The gentleman to whom we are indebted for these particulars asserts, he has seen the King visit the cardinal, with twelve attendants, masked, each habited as shepherds, but with garments of cloth of gold and silver wire, besides drummers, and others in satin, also masqued. The cardinal, who expected the monarch, had invited a considerable number of courtiers; and, that they might be completely taken by surprise, he received them in his presence-chamber; where, seating himself under his canopy of state before a table appropriated to him only, he had them arranged, according to precedence, ladies and gentlemen alternately.

When the whole party were fully intent upon the pleasures of the banquet, they were alarmed by the discharge of guns. Wolsey, affecting equal astonishment, deputed the lord chamberlain to enquire into the cause; who, returning from the banks of the Thames, declared certain noblemen had landed, and were, probably, ambassadors from the Continent. This officer was then directed to wait on the foreigners, and introduce them to the company; in whose presence they at length arrived, under the flourish of drums and flutes, and attended by twenty torch-bearers.

The

The king and his friends arranged themselves in pairs before the cardinal; and profound reverences having passed, the lord chamberlain said, in the names of the former, they were ignorant of the English language; but, having heard of the entertainment, they entreated permission to partake of it, and witness the subsequent festivities. Permission was instantly granted. "Then went the masquers and first saluted all the dames, and then returned to the most worthiest, and there opened the great cup of gold filled with crowns, and other pieces to cast at."

Thus, perusing all the gentlewomen, of some they won, and to some they lost. And, having viewed all the ladies, they returned to the cardinal, with great reverence, pouring down all their gold, which was above two hundred crowns. "At all," quoth the cardinal, and, casting the die, he won it, "whereat was made great joy." The fortunate prelate, attentively examining his new guests, observed to the chamberlain, it appeared to him that one among them had a commanding presence, which convinced him that gentleman had more pretensions to his seat than himself; and to whom he would willingly resign it.

The strangers declared, through the medium of the officer, that there was indeed in their company one of superior rank, who would disclose himself if the cardinal could point him out correctly.

Wolsey,

Wolsey, presuming upon his knowledge of the king's figure, selected sir Edward Neville. "The king, seeing the cardinal so deceived in his choice, could not forbear laughing; but pulled down his vizor and sir Edward Neville's also, with such a pleasant countenance and cheer that all the noble estates desired his highness to take his place;—to whom the king made answer, "that he would first go and shift him;" and, thereupon, went into the cardinal's bed-chamber, where was a great fire prepared for him; and there he new apparelled himself with rich and princely garments. And in the king's absence the dishes of the banquet were clean taken away, and the tables covered again with new and perfumed cloths, every man sitting still until the king's majesty, with his masquers, came in amongst them, every man new apparelled."

The sequel of this luxurious festival was the introduction of two hundred covers of eatables; on which the monarch and his vassals feasted to satiety, when they had recourse to dancing, which continued till morning; an indefinite term of the author's, which may signify twelve o'clock, or six hours later.

The fascinations of this and similar entertainments were extremely powerful. That they were imitated by the opulent, we have no reason to doubt; who were again aped by those in moderate circumstances. Hence there is every probability

bility that splendid living, and luxurious fare, distinguished this reign. Before we bid adieu to Wolsey, another proof shall be given of my supposition being correctly founded, in which many of our antient customs may be accurately traced. Wolsey had been sent to France, where he negotiated a peace between the two nations; he returned, and several men of rank came over to ratify it. Those were to be splendidly entertained at the expence of Government, and Hampton Court was the place selected for this purpose.

The great waiting-chamber of that palace had rich hangings of cloth of arras; and others were adorned in a similar manner, according to the use intended to be made of them: in each were stationed the best proportioned yeomen of the king's household. Tables were placed in them, and cupboards filled with silver utensils. Plates of the same metal, suspended to the walls, highly polished, reflected the lights set before them; and great fires of wood and coals blazed in the chimneys. The presence-chamber was still more superbly decorated with cloth of arras, and a canopy of state; under which a table was set in the midst of the apartment surrounded by six desks of plate, gilt with the finest gold, "saving one pair of candlesticks of silver, and gilt, with lights in the same."

The

The cupboard, abounding with massy vessels and other articles of great value, was railed from the rest of the room; and the walls had silver-gilt plates to reflect the numerous wax candles burning before them. Gentlemen waiters attended; and officers were appointed to conduct the strangers to the supper prepared for them, accompanied by the sound of trumpets. "Service came up in such abundance," says our authority, "both costly, and full of devices, with such a pleasant noise of musick, that the Frenchmen (as it seemed) were wrapped up in a heavenly paradise. You must understand that my lord cardinal was not there all this while. But the French monsieurs were very merry with their rich fare, and curious cates and knacks. But before the second course my lord cardinal came in, booted and spurred, suddenly amongst them; at whose coming there was great joy, every man rising from his place, whom my lord cardinal caused to sit still, and keep their places; and, being in his riding apparel, called for his chair, and sat him down in the midst of the high table, and was there as merry and pleasant as ever I saw him in my life.

"Presently after came up the second course, which was above one hundred several devices, which were so good and costly that I think the Frenchmen never saw the like. But the rarest

curiosity

curiosity of all the rest they all wondered at (which indeed was worthy of wonder) were castles, with images in the same, like St. Paul's church for the model of it. There were beasts, birds, fowls, personages, most excellently made, some fighting with swords, some with guns, others with cross bows, some dancing with ladies, some on horseback, with complete armour, justling, with long and sharp spears, and many other strange devices, which I cannot describe; amongst all, I noted there was a chess-board, made of spice plate, with men of the same, and of good proportion."

The cardinal observing, perhaps, that one of the company particularly noticed the latter imitation, made it a present to him; at the same time ordering that a case should be made for its safe conveyance to France. He then drank of ypocras, from a cup worth 500 marks, to the king's health, and that of the king of France; which compliment was returned by the ambassadors.

The gentleman usher adds further, that the cup went so "merrily about," many of the Frenchmen were *led to their beds*. Whether Wolsey was *conducted* to his, is not mentioned.

In reviewing this account of a royal entertainment in the time of Henry the Eighth, it is worthy of remark that it was then the custom to make representations of men, beasts, and things, in pastry; which, I apprehend, was supposed

posed by many to be a modern invention, though this supposition is certainly unfounded. It seems extremely probable that it was but recently introduced when the preceding account was written, notwithstanding what has already been said on the subject. The author of "the Life of Wolsey," speaks of the pastry as a subject of wonder, "as a rare curiosity and worthy of wonder;" and as of a spectacle "Frenchmen never saw the like." From which latter circumstance we may suppose the custom was not imported from France; where, indeed, the cardinal thought it worth his while to send part of it as a present.

The union of the houses of York and Lancaster in the time of Henry VII. contributed greatly to ameliorate the situation of all ranks of society; and the people must have seen with infinite satisfaction, that their lives and property were not likely to be sacrificed by a ruinous civil war, in a contest between powerful families for the crown, at least for many years. The total extinction of numbers of great persons and their relatives naturally rendered vassalage less common; and as this description of tyranny ceased, so, in proportion, those people emigrated from place to place, and practised their different occupations to their own emolument.

Before this period the monarch was surrounded by rivals, who greatly restricted his acts. But when

when Henry VIII. ascended the throne, he soon found that he stood alone in power, with nobles generally inclined to promote his views, provided they were rewarded for their services. He therefore devised means to exhibit the scaffold to such who wished to oppose him; and to make those perish on it who actually resisted his authority. Contented with their new situation, the common classes of people viewed the acts of the Government with perfect composure; and, perhaps, with sufficient dread to produce the same effect. This fact, however, is no great compliment to their patriotism and humanity, when we consider the unheard-of crimes of their tyrant: whose character may be included between the extremes of baseness and cruelty.

Henry affected a high respect for the profession of arms; he assisted at tournaments, and they terminated with his reign. Himself and courtiers were, as has already been mentioned, richly habited. The walls of his palaces, and those of his nobles, were hung with rich tapestry and arras; but we know little of their furniture beyond the beaufet; which always exhibited massy basins and covers, goblets, and candlesticks. We may, therefore, imagine it to have been rude and clumsy, and confined to mere usefulness. The drawings extant of the beds of the rich invariably represent them nearly in the present form, as to height and curtains. Holinshed

shed mentions, that the lower classes slept on straw pallettes or mats, and covered with a rug, while the head rested on a block of wood, instead of a pillow. At the same time, though churches and large mansions had their rich windows of painted glass, inferior houses were destitute even of common glass to admit the light.

Could we believe all that has been said of the vices prevailing amongst the inferior clergy and monks, morality would have incalculable obligations to Henry VIII.; but it is impossible to credit every interested tale of this monarch and his commissioners, unless we are contented to forget the amiable men and women, neither monks nor priests, who fell beneath the axe at the command of the former; and, above all, the avaricious motives that led to the suppression of abbeys. Bad as numbers of both priests and monks were, the good man cannot see Henry compelling them to forfeit their oaths as to the pope's supremacy, or be hanged and quartered before their own gates, without feeling the utmost abhorrence at his conduct. Taken in a more enlarged sense, a *gradual* suppression would have been a national benefit.

This Reformer had the prudence to extend his views beyond his own immediate profit; if he suppressed monasteries to fill his Augmentation coffers, he wished the world to suppose, he hanged criminals who had committed petty robberies

beries for the mere love of justice; and we are indebted to Holinshed for the information, that no less than 22,000 suffered in this way during his reign: a strong and melancholy proof of great prevailing depravity.

Besides releasing the community from these depredators, Henry endeavoured to repress the licentiousness of his subjects by expelling loose women from the Stews in Southwark, where laxity of manners and reprehensible custom had licensed their trade from the time of Henry II. Had purity of morals distinguished the king, and had he not divorced his wives for the charms of variety, perhaps the suppression of the stews might have operated in favour of virtue: but as things were, vice only became more guarded; in this respect setting an example to Henry which he did not deign to follow.

Perjury, it is said, flourished with uncontrouled liberty in this reign, from the throne to the cottage, which is not to be wondered at when people were executed on gibbets for refusing to violate their religious oaths. It is, however, only justice to mention, that this crime descended from the preceding reign, when, according to Stow, Henry VII. openly encouraged it, in the prosecution of his own subjects.

Much might be said under the head of travelling from place to place on state motives, or those of mere amusement; but the limits of my work

work forbid me from entering into particulars. When our monarchs made a progress, as their journeys were termed, the procession was magnificent, and the nobles and attendants very numerous; a circumstance that frequently injured the fortune of individuals visited on these occasions. Queen Elizabeth was one of the last of our sovereigns who continued this custom; and her propensity for it contributed to the discontinuance: for the courtiers of the time were, in some measure, compelled to become rivals to each other in expence, and extravagant inventions to gratify the sated curiosity of this silly woman, and great queen.

"Queen Elizabeth's Progresses," collected by Mr. Nichols, furnish many proofs of this assertion; and shew her gross vanity and love of flattery, in a very strong light indeed. Great Barons, it may be supposed, followed the example of the monarch as nearly as possible; and the citizens of London were conspicuous for their invention in splendid pageants, exhibited on all public occasions, in the forming of which the heathen mythology was an endless source. As I have greatly enlarged on this subject in my "History of London," I cannot do more at present than refer the reader to the pageants in honour of Henry VI. and those exhibited on various accounts by the Company of Ironmongers.

The

The manners of the people during the reign of Henry VIII. may in a great measure be collected from what has been already said; but it may not be amiss to observe generally, that they must have much resembled that of the court, in many particulars. Henry, according to every original document now remaining, was most extravagantly profuse in his dress, and every luxurious indulgence; and all the paintings of that time extant convince us, that jewelry and embroidery were in constant fashion. The luxury of the monarch, his admiration of the fair sex, his splendid entertainments and revels, were each imitated in gradations caused by difference of circumstances.

The public mind was evidently enervated by these means; and we consequently find a few virtuous men, alone and unsupported, contending, till they fell to rise no more, against his monstrous encroachments on morality. Compassion for female suffering seems not to have existed; or the general voice would have been raised, when so many queens were sacrificed in succession. Such were the royal ideas of gallantry and politeness to the fair, and such were the accommodating conduct and servility of the population, that the organs by which it speaks (the authors of the time) represent Henry and his courtiers as equally polished and gallant.

Despotic

Despotic power is never confined wholly to the throne. A courtier, compelled to bow with implicit obedience and reverence before his sovereign, returns to his family a complete tyrant, exacting the same degree of deference from *his* subjects, as he involuntarily pays to his superior, with few exceptions: therefore, behold the lord, seated in austere majesty, surrounded by his wife, his offspring, and his vassals; even his guests, though equals, acknowledge his domestic sway; and all is restraint and embarrassment. It is useless to descend to more humble imitators, who might be traced almost to the dregs of society. Education was of little importance; to obey, was enough; the enlargement of the mind must have caused rebellion. Children stood trembling and corrected before their parents; and some faint traces may yet be found in the country, of the consort's subjection; who declines seating herself, at her own table, till her lord has dined.

One of the first traces of emancipation from his hateful slavery, was the excellent work, "The Governor;" which I have made ample use of, and supersedes more minute particulars at present.

The bondmen of England were gradually diminished between the reigns of Henry VII. and Edward VI. Indeed, with our present ideas of liberty,

liberty, we are at a loss to comprehend how our ancestors could have so long entertained the odious custom of villanage; or even that the slaves submitted, without actual rebellion. It is grateful, however, to reflect, that general humanity effected that which was neither enforced nor recommended by the government.

Sir Thomas Smith, who flourished in the latter reign, mentions, in his Treatise on the English Republick, that villans in gross, or in other words absolute slaves, were very limited in their number at all times; and those which were annexed to particular estates were almost all emancipated. Rymer informs us, that Henry VIII. presented two of his slaves and their families with their liberty, in 1514. Whether the motives he assigned for so doing were sincerely stated, may admit of a doubt, when we consider the major part of his public and private acts.

Humour is certainly a strong trait in the English character. Unfortunately, however, this part of my labours must be in a great degree deficient. In the early ages, a thousand sallies of whim and pleasantry were enjoyed for the moment, and then irrecoverably lost; as it does not appear that many of our antient authors have thought proper to preserve the wit they must have witnessed.

Hoddesdon leads us to suppose, in his life of Sir Thomas More, that a witty observation, or a good joke, was not disliked in the reign of Edward

the Fourth, even in the presence of a cardinal archbishop. Before More was sent to Oxford for his education, his friends placed him under the protection of Morton, archbishop of Canterbury and Lord High Chancellor; who often observed to the nobles at his table, that the youth then waiting would make a marvellous man; which opinion he formed from the wit and jests of the boy, who would, "in the Christmas time, suddenly sometimes step in among the players, and, never studying for the matter, make a part of his own there presently amongst them; which was so witty and full of jests, that he alone made the lookers-on more sport than all the players beside."

This disposition to innocent mirth attracted the small portion of human kindness inherent in the bosom of his master, Henry VIII. who sometimes visited him at Chelsea; where he was once observed walking with More, embracing his neck with his arm. Roper, the son-in-law of More, delighted at this instance of kindness, congratulated him on the subject. "Son Roper," replied the chancellor, "I may tell thee, I have no cause to be proud of it; for if my head would win him a castle in France, it would not fail to go off."

This inflexible and worthy chancellor of a worthless monarch, derived infinite honour from the very strong contrast his conduct afforded to that of a tyrant whose will was his only law, and whose

whose acts were one uninterrupted chain of wickedness. Mr. Dauney, one of his sons-in-law, once observed to him, in a playful way, that his family were far less indebted to him than were the very door-keepers of his predecessor Wolsey; as he had provided for them during his chancellorship. in common with others better entitled to his favours. Dauney continued saying, that as he had married his daughter, and faithfully waited on his pleasure, he deserved some reward; particularly as he, as chancellor, was so easy of access, nothing could be procured by way of bribe for introductions: all which might be extremely commendable in him, but was far from being profitable to himself.

"You say well, son," said Sir Thomas: "I like well that you are of conscience so scrupulous; but many other ways be there, son, that I may both do yourself good, and pleasure your friends also. For sometime may I by my word stand your friend in stead; and sometimes may I by my letter help him. Or if he have a cause depending before me, at your request, I may hear him before another. Or if his cause be not all the best, yet may I move the parties to fall to some reasonable end by arbitrament. Howbeit, son, this one thing I assure thee on my faith, that if the parties will at my hands call for justice, then all were it my father (whom I love dearly) stood on the one side, and the devil (whom I hate ex-

 tremely)

tremely) stood on the other, his cause being good, the devil should have right."

One of his subsequent decisions gave a positive proof that he merely asserted the truth in the above speech. Mr. Heron, who married one of his daughters, was a party in a cause brought before Sir Thomas, which had few recommendations. An arbitration was proposed, and rejected by Heron; who presumed on the favour of the chancellor. "He, in conclusion," says my authority, "made a flat decree against him."

The following conversation, between the ex-chancellor and his lady, occurred in the Tower of London, where he had long been confined. The reader will please to observe it was dame More's first visit to her consort in his affliction. "What the good year, Master More," said she, "I marvel that you, that have been always taken for so wise a man, will now so play the fool as to lie here in this close filthy prison, and be content thus to be shut up among mice and rats; and too when you might be abroad at your liberty, and with the favour and good will both of the king and his council, if ye would but do as all the bishops and best learned of the realm have done; and seeing you have at Chelsea a right fair house, your library, your garden, your orchard, and all other necessaries so handsome about you; where you might, in the company of me your wife, your children, and household, be merry: I muse what

what a G—'s name you mean here still thus fondly to tarry."

After he had awhile quietly heard her, with a very cheerful countenance, he said unto her, "Good Mrs. Alice, tell me one thing." "What is that?" said she. "Is not this house as nigh Heaven as mine own?" To whom she (as not liking these words) answered, after her manner, "*Tillee vallie, Tillee vallie.*" "How say you, Mrs. Alice," said he; "is it not so?" "*Bon Deus, Bon Deus,* man, will this gear never be left?" said she. "Well then, Mrs. Alice, if it be so, it is very well; but, for my part, I see no great cause why I should much joy in my gay house, or of any thing belonging thereunto, when if I should but seven years be buried under ground, and then arise and come thither again, I should not fail to find some therein that would bid me get out of doors, and tell me it were none of mine. What cause have I then to like such a house, as would so soon forget his master? Again, tell me, Mrs. Alice, how long do you think we may live and enjoy it?" "Some twenty years," said she. "Truly," said Sir Thomas, "if you had said some thousand years, it had been somewhat; and yet he were a very bad merchant, that would put himself in danger to lose eternity for a thousand years: how much the rather, if we are not sure to enjoy it one day to an end!"

We

We learn from one of Latimer's sermons, preached in the reign of Edward VI. that, although the stews or licensed brothels were suppressed, but little progress was made in the reformation of morals. Never did the nation witness greater licentiousness, than at the moment the prelate addressed the court. "I advertize you, in God's name, look to it," he observed. "I here say, there is now more —— in London, than ever there was on the Bank. These be the news I have to tell you; I fear they be true." His constant habit of conveying this description of news to the ears of the attentive king, procured the bishop many enemies, who called him a seditious fellow. But in the preceding reign, he was accused, in the king's presence, of the same crime; and endured the terrific sound from Henry of— "What say you to that, Sir?"

A man of less resolution and weaker nerves would have been lost: Latimer, kneeling, made him no immediate answer; and, turning to his accuser, demanded in what manner he should preach before his sovereign. At the same time, he put several other unanswerable questions to his abashed enemy, which completely disabled him from proceeding. Perceiving the advantage he had gained, Latimer expressed himself willing to resign an office he did not solicit; but declared, if he still held it, he must discharge his duty, and speak as conscience dictated.

He

He escaped without even a reprimand; which, it is probable, was more than he hoped; as his friends told him, with tears in their eyes, they expected he would have passed the following night in the Tower. In the course of this sermon he termed his congregation brain-sick fools, hoddy peckes, doddy poules, and huddes: and surely he sometimes preached to such; as will appear by the ensuing story related by himself.

"This same man, that laid sedition thus to my charge, was asked another time whether he were at the sermon at Paul's Cross? He answered, that he was there: and being asked, what news there? —Marry, quod he, wonderful news: we were there clean absolved; my mule and all had full absolution. Ye may see by this that he was such a one that rode on a mule, and that he was a gentleman. Indeed his mule was wiser than he: for, I dare say, the mule never slandered the preacher. Oh, what an unhappy chance had this *mule*, to carry such an *ass* upon his back! I was there at the sermon myself. On the end of his sermon, he gave a general absolution; and, as far as I remember, these, or such other like words, but at the least I am sure this was his meaning— "as many as do acknowledge yourselves to be sinners, and confess the same, and stand not in defence of it, and heartily abhor it, and will believe in the death of Christ, and be conformable thereunto, *Ego absolvo vos*, quod he. How sayeth

eth this gentleman his mule was absolved? The preacher absolved but such as were sorry, and did repent. Belike then she did repent her stumbling, his mule was wiser than he a great deal."

It must be acknowledged that the prelates of antient times frequently ventured to give their sovereigns very bold advice; and, indeed, spared them not. Latimer, in preaching before Edward VI. 1549, mentioned to the young monarch that it would be proper he should expend no more than was absolutely necessary upon horses, which kings might keep to a moderate extent, but not to the injury of the poor, in lavishing upon their maintenance what ought to be given for charitable purposes. From this circumstance, and his subsequent words, it may be supposed that our kings were rather extravagant in this particular. "I was once offended with the king's horses," said the bishop, "and, therefore, took occasion to speak in the presence of the king's majesty that dead is, when abbeys stood. Abbeys were ordained for the comfort of the poor; wherefore I said, it was not decent that the king's horses should be kept in them, as many were at that time; the living of poor men thereby minished, and taken away. But, afterward, a certain nobleman said to me, 'What hast thou to do with the king's horses?'

"I answered and said, 'I spake my conscience, as God's word directed me.' 'Horses be the maintenances

maintenances and part of a king's honour, and also of his realm; wherefore in speaking against them you are against the king's honour?' I answered, 'God teacheth what honour is decent for the king, and for all other men, according unto their vocations. God appointeth every king a sufficient living for his state and degree, both by lands and other customs. And it is lawful for every king to enjoy the same goods and possessions. But to extort and take away the right of the poor, is against the honour of the king.' The bishop proceeded in this strain, and concluded with a sentence which must, if repeated to Henry, have exasperated him beyond forgiveness. Indeed it appears, to a candid person, rather insulting to the feelings of the young monarch, and had better been omitted. "Therefore," he added, "I pray God both the king, and also we his people, may endeavour diligently to walk in his ways, to his great honour and our profit. Let him not prepare unto himself too many wives, &c. Although we read that the kings amongst the Jews had liberty to take more wives than one, we may not, therefore, attempt to walk inordinately, and to think that we may take also many wives."

Latimer once said, "he might call the rich citizens of London proud, malicious, and merciless men of London; but if he did, they would be offended with him: yet," he added, "must I speak." Not long before a preacher had called them

them Butterflies, "Lord, what ado there was for that word!" said Latimer; "yet, would to Heaven they were no worse than butterflies. London was never so ill as it is now. In times past, men were full of pity and compassion, but now there is no pity; for in London their brother shall die in the streets for cold: he shall lie sick at their door, between stock and stock, I cannot tell what to call it, and perish there for hunger."

According to this prelate, the rich citizens were accustomed to establish exhibitions for poor scholars at the Universities, and to provide for the distressed, in their wills. This he heard of them when at Cambridge, and he looked to London as the land of promise. But then he "could hear no such good report; and yet I enquire of it, and hearken for it. But now charity is waxen cold; none helpeth the scholar, nor yet the poor."

The following anecdote from Latimer's second sermon before King Edward VI. will serve as a specimen of manners at the Court of Henry VI. "There was a bishop of Winchester in king Henry VI. days (which king was but a child, and yet there were many good aids made in his childhood, and I do not read that they were broken): this bishop was a great man born, and did bear such a stroke that he was able to shoulder the lord protector. Well, it chanced that the lord protector and he fell out, and the bishop would bear nothing at all with him, but played me the

satrapa;

satrapa; so that the regent of France was fain to be sent for, from beyond the seas, to sett them at one, and to go between them; for the bishop was as able and ready to buckle with the lord protector, as he was with him."

Latimer enquires, "whether this was not an excellent prelate, who left his diocese to dispute with the noble duke Humphrey on state affairs?" The bishop who thus opposed the protector, exerted himself in favour of the church, and was rewarded by the pope with the office of cardinal of Calais; and thither the bishop of Rome sent him a cardinal's hat:—"He should have had a Tyburn-tippet, a half-penny halter; and all such proud prelates. These Romish hats never brought good into England. Upon this the bishop goeth unto the queen Katherine, the king's wife, a proud woman, and a stout; and perswaded her that if the duke were in such authority still, and lived, the people would honour him more than they did the king, and the king should not be set by. And so, between them, I cannot tell how it came to pass, but at St. Edmondsbury, in a parliament, the good duke Humphrey was smothered."

At another time the indefatigable Latimer attacked the officers of state, in preaching before the successor of Henry VIII. and charged them with resisting all applications for their interference, unless the person applying presented a bribe. "Hear

"Hear poor men's suits yourself," he exclaimed: "I require you in God's behalf, and put them to none other to hear; let them not be delayed. The saying is now, that money is heard every where; if he be rich, he shall soon have an end of his matter: other are fain to go home with weeping tears for any help they can obtain at any Judge's hand. Hear men's suits yourself, I require you in God's behalf, and put it not to the hearing of these velvet coats, these up-skippis.

"Now a man can scarce know them from an antient knight of the country. I cannot go to any book, for poor folks come unto me desiring me that I will speak that their matters may be heard. I trouble my lord of Canterbury; and being at his house now and then, I walk in the garden, looking in my book, as I can do but little good at it. But something I must needs do, to satisfy this place. I am no sooner in the garden, and have read awhile, but by and by cometh there some one or other knocking at the gate. Anon cometh my man, and saith, 'Sir, there is one at the gate would speak with you.' When I come there, then it is some one or other that desireth me that I will speak that his matter might be heard; and that he hath lain this long, at great costs and charges, and cannot once have his matter come to the hearing."

It is not, perhaps, altogether justifiable to rely implicitly on the assertions of sermons, as to the operations

operations of vice and immorality: the preacher, in the heat of argument, may be supposed to exaggerate and enlarge upon facts. For instance:—Numerous, indeed, were the sins of the inhabitants of London: but it is going too far to say, with Latimer, that it "is marvel that it doth not sink; and that the earth gapeth not, and swalloweth it up." The homilies of this reformer were of infinite service to me in compiling the peculiarities of the time when he lived. His comprehensive mind perceived, and understood the whole system of abuses which enveloped the sovereign; he was indefatigable in searching for them; and, when discovered, they were cast at the base of the throne, without much ceremony or circumlocution, though he sometimes hinted at them:—"There is some place in London, as they say——immunity—impunity—what shall I call it?—a privileged place for w——n. The lord mayor hath nothing to do there; the sheriffs, they cannot meddle with it; and the quest, they do not enquire of it: and there men do bring their w——s, yea, other men's wives; and there is no reformation of it. There is such dicing-houses also; they say, as hath not been wont to be, where young gentlemen dice away their thrift; and where dicing is, there are other follies also."

He complained, besides, that the necessary exercise for the preservation of health was commuted for domestic vices; and that archery was greatly

greatly neglected. He entreated his noble auditors to revive the laws, which lay dormant, made to compel the people to practise with the bow and arrow. "In my time," he continued, "my poor father was as diligent to teach me to shoot, as to learn me any other thing; and so, I think, other men did their children. He taught me how to draw, how to lay my body in my bow, and not to draw with strength of arms, as other nations do, but with strength of the body. I had my bows bought me according to my age and strength. As I encreased in them, so my bows were made bigger and bigger: for men shall never shoot well, except they be brought up in it."

However excellent the advice of Latimer was, he had some difficulty in procuring attention: yet he declared he would, rather than none, have an auditory of persons similar to the woman, who being asked, by an acquaintance in the street, where she was going, answered, "To St. Thomas of Acres, to hear the sermon; for, as she had not slept well the night before, she should be certain of a nap there." Speaking of St. Chrysostom — "They heard him," saith he, "in silence; not interrupting the order of his preaching." He means they heard him quietly, without any shuffling of feet, or walking up and down. "Surely, it is an ill-misorder, the folk shall be walking up and down in the sermon-time (as I have seen in this place, this Lent); and there shall be such buzzing and

buzzing

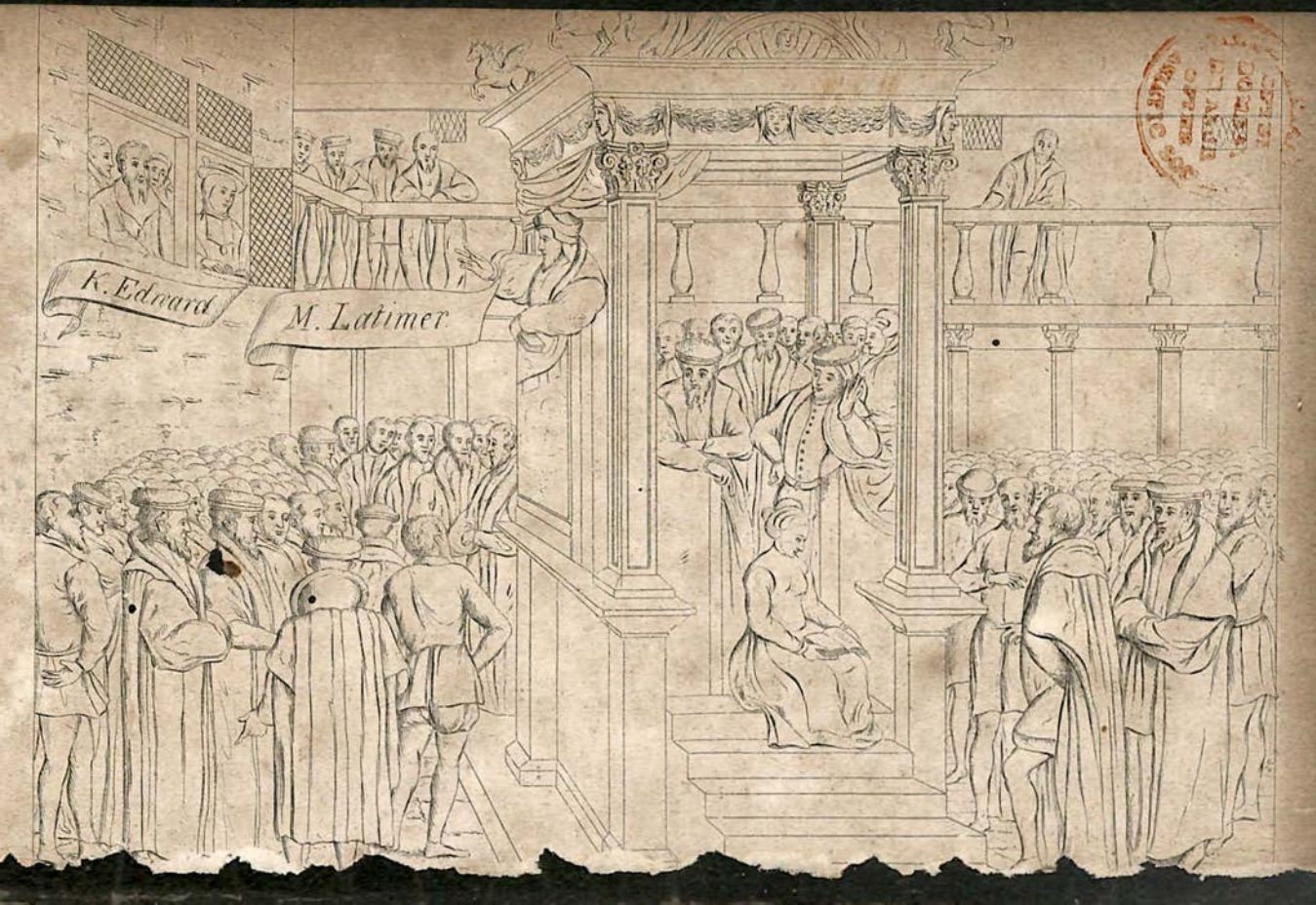
buzzing in the preacher's ear, that it maketh him oftentimes to forget his matter. O let us consider the king's majesty's goodness: this place was prepared for banquetting of the body; and his majesty hath made it a place for the comfort of the soul, and to have the word of God preached in it."

An illustration of part of the Scripture led Latimer to mention, that he had crossed the Thames from Lambeth to Westminster in a wherry. His words are: "The watermen came about me (as the manner is); and he would have me, and he would have me." From which it will appear, that their customs on that element have not materially changed since the days of Edward VI. The same eagerness and intemperance was observable in the higher ranks of life. "Alas! where is this discipline now in England? The people regard no discipline; they be without all order. Where they should give place, they will not stir one inch; yea, where magistrates should determine matters, they will break into the place before they come; and at their coming, not move a whit for them."

A practice prevailed, which will be well understood at the present moment. Let us hear what our reformer says of the antient fifteenths; and the reader will make the application. "When the parliament, the high court of this realm, is gathered together, and there it is determined that every man shall pay a fifteenth part of his goods

goods to the king: then commissions come forth, and he that in sight of men, in his cattle, corn, sheep, and other goods, is worth an hundred marks, or an hundred pound, will set himself at £10.; he will be worth no more to the king but after £10. Tell me, now, whether this be theft or no? His cattle, corn, sheep, in every man's eyes, shall be worth two hundred pound, besides other things, as money and plate; and he will marry his daughter, and give with her four or five hundred marks; and yet, at the valuation, he will be a twenty pound man. Doth he give to Cæsar that which is due to Cæsar? Doth he not rather rob the king of his bound duty and debt that he ought to the king? Yes, it is very theft; and thou mightest with as good conscience take away my cloak or my tippet from me, as so unjustly take or withhold from the king, that which the parliament hath given to the king."

Latimer once told the congregation assembled in the shroudes of St. Paul's, that they were troubled with *un*preaching prelates,—a custom of the dignified clergy he severely reprobated. He then pointed out their excuses for this omission of their duty. "They are so troubled with lordly lying; they be so placed in palaces; couched in courts; ruffling in their rents; dancing in their dominions; burthened with ambassages; pampering of their paunches, like a monk that maketh his jubilee; munching in their mangers


K. Edward
M. Latimer

gers; and moyling in their gay manors and mansions; and so troubled with loitering in their lordships, that they cannot attend to it. Where then their duties? Or were ministers of the church to be comptrollers of the mint? Who comptrolled the devil in his parish, while he comptrolled the mint? England, I speak it to thy shame," said Latimer: "Is there never a nobleman to be a lord president, but it must be a prelate? Is there never a wise man in the realm to be a comptroller of the mint? I speak it to your shame; I speak it to your shame. If there be never a wise man, make a water-bearer, a tinker, a cobler, a slave, a page,—comptroller of the mint."

Another sermon by Latimer, preached before Edward VI. March 8, 1549, [a print of the preaching-place at the palace of Westminster, and of the congregation, is annexed,] gives the following account of his family. "My father was a yeoman, and had no lands of his own; only he had a farm of three or four pound by year at the uttermost; and hereupon he tilled so much, as kept half a dozen men. He had walk for an hundred sheep, and my mother milked thirty kyne. He was able and did find the king a harness, with himself and his horse, while he came to the place that he should receive the king's wages. I can remember that I buckled his harness, when he went unto Blackheath field.

He kept me to school, or else I had not been able to have preached before the king's majesty now. He married my sisters, with five pounds, or twenty nobles a piece; so that he brought them up in godliness and fear of God. He kept hospitality for his poor neighbours, and some alms he gave to the poor; and all this he did of the said farm: where he that now hath it, payeth sixteen pound by year or more, and is not able to do any thing for his prince, for himself, nor for his children, or give a cup of drink to the poor."

Anna Bullein was an exception to this prelate's censure; and is said to have been provided daily with a purse, the contents of which were entirely appropriated to the poor, when she casually met with proper objects, justly thinking no week correctly passed which did not afford her pleasure in the retrospect. Impressed with this conviction, the unfortunate queen insisted that all her attendants should employ their leisure in making clothes for the poor, which it gave her infinite satisfaction to know were carefully distributed.

The extreme youth of Edward VI. when called to the exercise of the regal functions, and the early age at which he died, prevented him from fully developing his character. Every act of his life appears to have been the reverse of those of his father, and every thing his subjects could reasonably expect of their monarch was anticipated

anticipated by himself and his counsellors. Lamentable, indeed, was the contrast demonstrated by his successor the bigotted, relentless, tyrannical, Mary.

Camden gives the following character of Queen Elizabeth in his "Annals." "Whatever opinion papists had of her, she, notwithstanding, was truly religious,—who every day, as soon as she rose, commended herself unto God; afterwards, some set hours, she would spend in her private closet. Every Sunday, and every holiday, she would go unto the chapel; in which kind of places never prince shewed more devotion. The sermons made in Lent she would hear very attentively, in black attire, according as the custom had been of old; and yet would she oftentimes have in her mouth a saying of Henry the Third, her predecessor, namely, 'that she, for her part, had rather devoutly speak with God herself, by way of prayer, than hear others speaking of him, though never so eloquently."

Sir James Melvil has presented us many little anecdotes which explain the disposition and manners of Queen Elizabeth. When she created lord Robert Dudley earl of Leicester, at Westminster, in the presence of the above gentleman and the French ambassador, the new earl kneeled before her with great gravity, while she assisted, "but she could not refrain from putting her hand in his

neck, smilingly tickling him:" at the same time asking Melvil, "How he liked him?" "Yet," says she, "you like better of yonder long lad," pointing toward my lord Darnley, who, as nearest prince of the blood, did bear the sword of honour that day before her.

During his residence in London Melvil was often with the queen, who frequently enquired concerning the manners of the people he had seen in his continental employments, and particularly "what country weed I thought best becoming gentlewomen. The queen said she had cloaths of every sort; which every day thereafter, so long as I was there, she changed. One day she had the English weed, another the French, and another the Italian, and so forth. She asked me, which of them became her best? I answered, in my judgment, the Italian dress: which answer I found pleased her well; for she delighted to show her golden coloured hair, wearing a caul and bonnet as they do in Italy. Her hair was more reddish than yellow, curled in appearance naturally." True to the vanity of her character, she enquired what coloured hair was most admired; and whether that of the queen of Scotland or her own was fairest. Melvil, equally true to that of the courtier (whose province it was to flatter two queens), evaded the question, and left it undecided. He was, however, less scru-

pulous

pulous in declaring his mistress tallest. "Then," saith she, "she is too high; for I myself am neither too high nor too low."

"That same day, after dinner, my lord of Hunsdon drew me up to a quiet gallery, that I might hear some musick (but he said that he durst not avow it); where I might hear the queen play upon the virginals. A piece of tapestry closed the door: this Melvil gently removed; and, observing that her back was towards him, he ventured into the chamber, and listened to some very pleasing strains. The instant the queen discovered the intruder, she advanced, and made a motion with her hand, as if about to strike him, observing she never played before men; and only, when alone, to 'shun melancholy.' The courtier soon allayed the little resentment he had excited, by answering her enquiry how he came there in terms highly flattering to her performance, and by declaring similar intrusions were common in France. Elizabeth, quite softened by Melvil's humility, seated herself on a cushion, and insisted he should kneel on one she placed for him. Lady Strafford was then called; and the queen proceeded to examine him, whether his queen or herself excelled in music: to which she received an answer highly acceptable.

She praised Melvil's manner of speaking the French language; asked if he could speak in Italian,

Italian, and conversed with facility in that language, but was deficient in Dutch. Her next demand related to Melvil's taste in reading. "Here (says our author) I took occasion to press earnestly my dispatch. She said I was weary sooner with her company than she was of mine." This he denied, declaring he knew the affairs of his mistress required his presence; yet she contrived to prevent his departure for two days, that he might see her dance; which having done, he again flattered her by saying she excelled queen Mary. The inference drawn by this embassador, from his observations on the conduct of Elizabeth, was far from favourable; as he imagined he perceived great dissimulation, emulation, and fear of Mary.

Queen Elizabeth, who had done more than any of her predecessors towards making a total change in the customs of the clergy, had some difficulty in reconciling herself to that of the marriage of her bishops. Parker, who held the see of Canterbury, was in high estimation with his sovereign (as he had been her mother's chaplain); and she often visited him, though she could not bear to see his wife. On one particular occasion, the queen had been treated with uncommon hospitality and kindness, which she gratefully and cheerfully acknowledged to the prelate; but turning to his lady, — "And you, —— Madam, I may not call you, and Mistress,

Mistress, I am ashamed to call you,—you —— so as I know not what to call you——but yet I do thank you."

Amongst the customs of this reign, we must by no means omit that of preaching *at* the Queen. Two instances of this description are to be found in Sir John Harrington's State of the Church. Dr. Anthony Rudd, bishop of St. David's, appears to have been ignorant of that which was visible to every individual in the court—the unconquerable desire of her majesty to appear, to be thought, and to be told she looked young. "The majesty and gravity of a sceptre borne forty-four years," says Sir John, "could not alter that nature of a woman in her." Rudd happened to be appointed to preach before the queen, in the Lent of 1596, at Richmond; when (perhaps observing strong marks of decay in her person) he felt impelled to convince her of the propriety of thinking of the termination of life. His text was well adapted for this purpose: "O teach us to number our days, that we may incline our heart unto wisdom!" And he treated the subject with so much good sense, piety, and perspicuity, and at the same time with so much delicacy, that Sir John observes, any person who did not know the queen as well as himself might have supposed it could not offend if it did not please her.

At

At length he began to speak of certain sacred and mystical numbers, — as three for the Trinity, three times three for the Heavenly Hierarchy, seven for the Sabaoth, and seven times seven for a Jubilee; concluding with a fatal *seven times nine, for the grand climacterical year* — the precise age of the queen at the moment. The intention of the bishop was understood, and felt by Elizabeth in an instant; and her agitation as instantaneously recoiled upon the preacher. He had, however, the strength of mind and resolution to ring a change upon some other numbers, speaking very abstrusely upon 666 and 88; passing a handsome compliment on her success in the latter year against the Spaniards. Still he could not conquer his wish to recur to the original tendency of his sermon; which he concluded by a prayer, in her majesty's name, illustrated with such texts of Scripture as were consonant to that tendency; particularly — "When the grinders shall be few in number, and they wax dark that look out of the windows, &c.; and the daughters of singing shall be abased."

The queen immediately opened the casement of her closet, — not to thank the bishop for his sermon, as was the etiquette, — but to tell him plainly, "he should have kept his arithmetic for himself; but I see (said she) the greatest clerks are not the wisest men." She then retired in high

high displeasure; and the lord keeper Puckering, though secretly approving of the sermon, thought proper to confine Rudd to his house for a short time, to prevent more disagreeable consequences.

The queen soon forgave this attack upon her age, released the bishop, and rebuked a lady who condemned the sermon. But she thought proper to confute the inferences of the prelate, by declaring, that he was deceived in supposing her limbs and senses were in a similar state of decay with his own and others in the grand climacteric. She said, she thanked God, that neither her stomach nor strength, nor her voice for singing, nor fingering instruments, nor lastly her sight, was any whit decayed; and to prove the last, before us all (adds Sir John), "she produced a little jewel, that had an inscription of very small letters, and offered it first to my lord of Worcester, and then to Sir James Crofts to read; and both protested, *bonâ fide*, that they could not: yet the queen herself did find out the poesy, and made herself merry with the standers-by upon it."

Dr. Matthew Hutton is thus mentioned by Sir John Harrington: "I no sooner remember this famous and worthy prelate, but methinks I see him in the chapel at Whitehall; queen Elizabeth at the window in the closet; all the lords of the parliament, spiritual and temporal, about them; and then, after his three courtesies, that I hear him

him out of the pulpit thundering this text: "The kingdoms of the earth are mine, and I do give them to whom I will; and I have given them to Nebuchadrezzar and his son, and his son's son:" which text, when he had thus produced, taking the sense rather than the words of the prophet, there followed, first, so general a murmur of one friend whispering to another; then such an erected countenance in those that had none to speak to; lastly, so quiet a silence and attention, in expectance of some strange doctrine, where the text itself gave away kingdoms and sceptres; as I have never observed either before or since." The preacher might have been supposed a Jeremiah, rather than an expounder of him, by the skill with which he explained the two causes that produced the translation of a throne from family to family, and to different nations; which, he argued, were the fulness of time, and the ripeness of sin; and supported by citations from sacred and profane, and British history. In this mode, he descended to the reign of the queen before him; who received the compliment of exceeding all her predecessors, in establishing the prosperity, peace, and splendour of the kingdom; who, by her wisdom, had changed all her counsellors but one; her officers twice or thrice; and some of her prelates four times. In short (according to the sagacious Hutton) there was but one fault discoverable in her conduct — the neglecting the interests

interests of the nation by refusing to marry, and, by that means, establishing the succession.

He observed, that Nero particularly excited the hatred of the people by wishing to have no successor; and that Augustus was equally disliked for appointing an unfit person for the purple. He then adventured, as far as he dared, to explain the wishes of the publick; which, he declared, travelled northward, even to Scotland; adding, that if those wishes were erroneous, they would be found learned errors.

Those who heard the conclusion of this sermon, and knew the queen's disposition, were satisfied that the intimations it conveyed were as pleasant to her, as salt to the eyes; or, to use her own words, "as to pin up her winding-sheet before her face." An immediate expression of displeasure was anticipated; but, to the surprise of the auditors, the queen opened her window, and calmly thanked the preacher for his very learned sermon. This was the effect of policy: she knew Hutton spoke the sentiments of her subjects, and determined not to reject their advice publicly. A private censure, however, followed, conveyed in severe terms by Sir John Fortescue and Sir John Wolley; which, the archbishop told Sir John Harrington, was "such a greeting, as he scant knew if he were a prisoner or a free man."

The charity or liberality of Francis Russell, second earl of Bedford of that surname, was such, that

that queen Elizabeth was in the habit of saying, playfully, of him, that he made all the beggars; or, in other words, induced men to leave their pursuits, to obtain his bounty.

Dr. Taylor (who suffered for his religion in the previous reign), with less ability but equal inclination, constantly waited upon Sir Richard Doyle, and other rich persons, once a fortnight; and with them visited alms-houses, where they redressed abuses, and supplied, by every means in their power, the deficiencies they discovered.

Mrs. Hutchinson relates an anecdote, in the memoirs of her husband, which establishes the fact, that *practical wit* had arrived to a very shameful degree of indulgence in the reign of queen Elizabeth. Speaking of a branch of the family of Biron, she proceeds: "That marriage, wherein the father had not been obeyed, was fruitless; and the young gentleman himself being given to youthful vanity, as he was one day to go out a hunting with his father, had commanded something should be put under the saddle of a young serving-man that was to go out with them, to make sport at his affright, when his horse should prove unquiet. The thing succeeded as it was designed, and made them such sport, that the young gentleman in the passion of laughter died, and turned their mirth into mourning; *leaving a sad caveat, by his example, to take heed of hazarding men's precious lives for a little sport.*"

Stow

Stow informs us it was the custom for the citizens of London to pass through the streets at night, attended by an apprentice or journeyman, who carried a lanthorn and lighted candle, and a long club, which rested on one shoulder.

The term Cockney applied to the natives of the *city* of London, or that part of it in antient times enclosed by a wall, and supposed to live within reach of the sound of Bow-bell, is of greater antiquity than the custom is commendable. Shakspeare makes use of it in a ludicrous sense: but Mr. Douce, in his comments on certain passages of the plays of that excellent dramatist, seems to think, "that it originates in an Utopian region of indolence and luxury, formerly denominated the country of *Cocaigne*." However that may be the fact, we know other English writers anterior to Shakspeare used it in the same sense. As the inhabitants of all great cities live in habits of comparative ease and luxury with those in the country (and particularly so when the word was introduced), Mr. Douce's solution appears extremely probable. At present we seldom hear it applied except in a playful way. Indeed, the writers for newspapers annually indulge in witticisms upon the efforts of the Londoners in sporting, when the first day of September arrives; and describe, with no small degree of whimsicality, the supposed mistakes of the *cockney* in shooting cats for hares, tame ducks for wild,

wild, pigs, dogs and poultry for game; and, to complete the whole, one is made to kill an owl, which he imagined to be a non-descript; but is afterwards convinced, to the dread of his eternal punishment, it was nothing less than a cherub.

When we walk the streets of London, and turn our attention towards blank walls, public buildings, and corners, little need be said on the prevalence of the custom of *bill-sticking*, or pasting advertisements on those places; as we have specimens of all sizes and colours, from the shape and dimensions of a card (almost requiring spectacles to peruse it), up to the enormous lottery bill, legible at five hundred feet distance. Our predecessors probably never thought of the perfection at which we have arrived in this art: their advertisements were no doubt stationary. We have, however, contrived to give them motion and change of place, by sending them round the city on hackney coaches, and to different parts of the environs, affixed to errand carts; nay, we *ornament* them with lottery-wheels, money-bags, and *caricatures* of fortunate gamblers. In one particular we have really improved on the custom of antient times, when notices were intruded in places sacred to religion. As to the time when this mode of informing the publick was adopted, there cannot be a doubt that it was coeval with the art of writing on parchment

parchment and paper, and general ability to read that writing. If written advertisements then were known and used, surely the art of printing spread the custom in all directions; and, without descending to particulars, we are convinced that posting-bills have been frequently mentioned in works published in the time of Elizabeth, and her immediate successors.

Sir John Harrington mentions several anecdotes of Bonner, bishop of London, which are illustrative of manners. The bigotry and cruelty of this zealous papist are perfectly well known. In his own time, he was so much detested, that when the mob in the streets saw an ill-looking corpulent person, they exclaimed, "There is Bonner!" After he had been deprived twice, he was observed walking with his tippet round his neck: a wag, who met him, entreated it might be given to him to line a coat. The ex-bishop, understanding the taunt, replied, "No: but thou shalt have a fool's head to line thy cap." "Good morrow, bishop *quondam*," said another. "Farewell, knave *semper*," answered Bonner. He was once shewn a representation of himself, in the first edition of the Book of Martyrs, in a reproachful manner: he laughed, and said, "A vengeance on the fool, how could he get my picture drawn so right?" On another occasion he was asked, if he did not feel ashamed of having been the cause of whipping a man who had

had a beard? He answered, with a laugh, his beard had grown since: but he added, "If thou hadst been in his case, thou wouldst have thought it a good commutation of penance to have thy brain beaten, to save thy body from burning."

Alchemistry, as it was originally called, is mentioned by Chaucer, in the Canon's Man's Prologue; who thus describes the professors of alchemy and their dupes:

"They take upon them to turn upside down
All the earth between Southwark and Canterbury town,
And to pave it all of silver and gold, &c.
But ever they lack of their conclusion,
And to much folk they do illusion.
For their stuff slides away so fast,
That it makes them beggars at the last;
And by this craft they do never win,
But make their purse empty, and their wits thin."

The inventors of the art of converting other metals into gold were too wise to omit confounding their processes with *quantum sufficit* of technical terms, and by using quantities of simples, drugs, and confections. Mr. Scot, who treated of its pernicious consequences in the reign of Elizabeth, has strung together the words subliming, amalgaming, englutting, imbibing, incorporating, cementing, retrination, terminations, mollifications, and indurations of bodies, matters combust

combust and coagular, ingots, tests with orpiment, sublimed mercury, iron squames, mercury crude, groundly large, bole ammoniac, verdigrease, borace, boles, gall, arsenick, sal ammoniac, brimstone, salt, pepper, burnt bones, unslaked lime, clay, saltpetre, vitriol, sal tartar, alcali, sal preparat', clay made with horse-dung, man's hair, oil of tartar, alum, glass, wort, yeast, argoll, resager, gleir of an eye, powders, ashes, dung, p—, &c. &c.; and proceeds with their waters corrosive, and lineall of albification and rubifying; their oils, ablution, and metals fusible; their lamps, urinals, discnsories, sublimatories, alembics, viols, crossets, cucurbits, stillatories, and their furnace of calcination; their soft and subtle fires of beech-wood and coal; and, to excite wonder in the ignorant, they worked by the agency of four spirits—orpiment, quicksilver, sal ammoniac, and brimstone: then they had seven celestial bodies—Sol, Luna, Mars, Mercury, Saturn, Jupiter, and Venus; represented by the terrestrial—gold, silver, iron, quicksilver, lead, tin, and copper.

Such were the terms and the ingredients of the alchemist; whose pretended aim was to attain the composition of what they called the philosopher's stone—*Alixer*; and a second, *Titanus Magnatia*—a water composed of the four elements, they were sworn never to write of, or discover to man. By these they affected to decompose quicksilver,

so far as to make it malleable, and by which copper was to be turned into gold.

As to the antiquity of this folly we need only give the substance of the opinion of *Goschalcus Bell. ordinis S. August. in suo præceptorio*, who wrote above twelve hundred years since on this subject; which was, that alchemists were counterfeiters of metals and minerals, and as deeply concerned in knavery as the thief whose misdeeds brought him to public arraignment. Indeed, were we to confine ourselves solely to the possibility of converting gold into a different form, we shall find that the inspired author of the Scriptures was well acquainted with the art of rendering that valuable metal liquid; but my object is to explain the operations of alchemists, who worked for profit only; of which one half were dupes to their own folly, and the rest to designing knaves.

Chaucer describes alchemists thus in his time; and Mr. Scot declares his sketch of them correct in his day.

> "These fellows look ill-favouredly,
> And are always tired beggarly,
> So as by smelling and thread-bare array,
> These folk are known and discerned alway."

He also asserts, that he could cite many cases of villainous deception practised by Dr. Burcot, and a person named Peates; but confines himself to the following, which I shall transcribe, to explain

explain the methods adopted on these occasions. "Touching a yeoman cozened by a notable varlet, who, by means of his companions and confederates, discussed the simplicity and ability of the said yeoman, and found out his estate and humour to be convenient in this purpose; and finally came a wooing, as they say, to his daughter, to whom he made love cunningly in words, though his purpose tended to another matter. And, among other illusions and tales concerning his own commendation for wealth, parentage, inheritance, alliance, activity, learning, pregnancy, and cunning, he boasted of his knowledge and experience in alchemistry; making the simple man believe that he could multiply, and of one angel make two or three: which seemed strange to the poor man, insomuch as he became willing enough to see that conclusion; whereby the alchymist had more hope and comfort to attain his desire, than if his daughter had yielded to have married him. To be short, he (in the presence of the said yeoman) did include within a little ball of virgin wax a couple of angels; and, after certain ceremonies and conjuring words, he seemed to deliver the same unto him; but in truth, through legerdemain, he conveyed into the yeoman's hand another ball, of the same scantling, wherein were enclosed many more angels than were in the ball which he thought he had received.

"Now, forsooth, the alchemist bade him lay up the same ball of wax, and also use certain ceremonies; and after certain days, hours, and minutes, they returned together, according to the appointment, and found great gains by the multiplication of the angels: insomuch as he (being a plain man) was hereby persuaded, that he should have not only a rare and notable good son-in-law, but a companion that might help to add unto his wealth much treasure, and to his estate great fortune and felicity. And to increase this opinion in him, as also to win his further favour (but especially to bring his cunning alchemistry, or rather his lewd purpose, to pass), he told him that it were folly to multiply a pound of gold, when as easily multiply a million; and therefore compelled him to produce all the money he had, or could borrow of his neighbours and friends, and did put him out of doubt, that he would multiply the same, and redouble it exceedingly, even as he saw by experience how he dealt with the small sum before his face.

"This yeoman, in hopes of gain and preferment, &c. consented to this sweet motion, and brought out and laid before his feet, not the one half of his goods but all that he had, or could make, or borrow any manner of way. Then this juggling alchymist, having obtained his purpose, folded the same in a ball, in quantity far bigger than

than the other, and, conveying the same into his bosom or pocket, delivered another ball, as before, of the like quantity to the yeoman, to be reserved and carefully kept in his chest, whereof either of them must have a key, and a several lock, that no interruption might be made to the ceremony, nor abuse by either of them, in defrauding each other. Now, forsooth, these circumstances and ceremonies being ended, and the alchymist's purpose thereby performed, he told the yeoman, that until a certain day and hour, limited to return, either of them might employ themselves about their business, and necessary affairs; the yeoman to the plough, and he to the city of London; and, in the mean time, the gold should multiply.

"But the alchymist, belike having other matters of more importance, came not just at the hour appointed, nor yet at the day, nor within the year; so as, although it were somewhat against the yeoman's conscience to violate his promise, or break the league; yet, partly by the longing he had to see, and partly the desire he had to enjoy the fruit of that excellent experiment, having, for his own security and the other's satisfaction, some testimony at the opening thereof to witness his sincere dealing, he brake up the coffer, and lo, he soon espied the ball of wax which he himself had laid up there with his own hands. So, as he thought, if the hardest should fall he should find his principal; and why not as good increase hereof

now,

now, as of the other before? But, alas, when the wax was broken, and the metal discovered, the gold was much abased, and became perfect lead."

The circumstances attending the accession of James I. to the throne, were by no means favourable to that monarch, who came into England in a light very little better than that of a foreigner. His character cannot, therefore, be clearly defined; as prejudice and partiality have given us two extremely opposite. His peaceable reign is a strong fact in his favour.

We find by various antient English authors, that the reproachful term *cuckold* was very frequently bestowed in anger at this time; in short, it became as decidedly a custom in altercation, as the use of compliments on meeting of friends. It would be useless to attempt a discovery of the real origin of the word, or to cite dissertations on it. I shall, therefore, give a paragraph on the subject from Heywood's "Nine Books of various History, 1624." This gentleman says, "I wonder how the name of cuckold came to be so frequent amongst us? .... I speak not of the woman that, when her husband came home to her in haste, and brought news there was a new edict come out, that all cuckolds should be cast into the river, presently asked him, 'why he did not learn to swim?'—nor of her that when her good man came to her, in like manner, with acclamation, and said, Wot you what, wife, such a woman (naming

(naming one of his neighbours) is found to be false, and he branded for a notorious cuckold, answered, "Lord, husband, you are such another man.'"

Master Heywood then begins a long story of a dispute in the infernal regions between Lucifer and his courtiers, as to the express nature of the cuckold, which, none existing in his dominions, was decided to be examined into on earth by a messenger. "With this commission away goes the devil, shews himself upon the earth, and, taking the shape of a gallant, thrusts himself into the society of all kind of people. He comes to the countryman, asks, if he be a cuckold?—who answers, he knows not what it means. The citizen denies himself to be the man. The soldier, with oaths, outfaceth the name. The lawyer will arrest any man upon an action of slander, that shall call him by that name. The courtier, indeed, confesseth himself to be a cuckold-maker, but to be a cuckold he can endure by no means." The remainder of the black gentleman's operations on *terra firma* are not suited to our purpose, and are therefore omitted. But enough has been furnished to form an opinion, that, though all agreed that cuckolds existed, they were invisible.

James I. was a decided enemy to the practice of chewing and smoking of tobacco. His "Counter-blast to Tobacco" declares his hostility in severe terms. "With the report of a great discovery for

for a conquest, some two or three savage men were brought in together, with this savage custom. But the pity is, the poor wild barbarous men died, but that vile barbarous custom is yet alive: yea, in fresh vigour."

"Such is the miraculous omnipotency of our strong-tasted tobacco, as it cures all sorts of diseases (which never any drug could do before) in all persons, and at all times. It cures all manner of distillations, either in the head or stomach (if you believe their axioms); although, in very deed, it do both corrupt the brain, and, by causing over-quick digestion, fill the stomach full of crudities. It cures the gout in the feet, and, which is miraculous, in that very instant when the smoke thereof, as light, flies up into the head, the virtue thereof, as heavy, runs down to the little toe. It helps all sorts of agues. It makes a man sober that was drunk. It refreshes a weary man; and yet makes a man hungry. Being taken when they go to bed, it makes one sleep soundly; and yet, being taken when a man is sleepy and drowsy, it will, as they say, awake his brain, and quicken his understanding. Here, in England, it is refined, and will not deign to cure here any other than cleanly and gentlemanly diseases. O, omnipotent power of tobacco! And if it could by the smoke thereof chase out devils, as the smoke of Tobias fish did (which I am sure could smell no stronglier), it would serve for a precious

precious relick, both for the superstitious priests and the insolent puritans, to cast out devils withall."

This paragraph very fully explains the general admiration of the supposed qualities of tobacco, throughout all classes of the monarch's subjects. I have mentioned a tradition, which obtained in the parish of St. Matthew, Friday Street, in my "History of London," of sir Walter Raleigh, alluded to by the king as the person who introduced it, sitting at his door, and smoking with sir Hugh Middleton, in the preceding reign; when the custom was, probably, promoted through the public manner in which it was exhibited, and the aromatic flavour inhaled by the passengers, exclusive of the singularity of the circumstance, and the eminence of the parties. Indeed, the two last motives were capable alone of establishing a practice ten times more pernicious than the above sentences represent it to be.

In ascribing more than one sin to the use of tobacco, James did not forget "the greatest sin of all; that you," addressing himself to his subjects, "the people of all sorts of this kingdom, who are created and ordained by God to bestow both your persons and goods for the maintenance both of the honour and safety of your king and commonwealth, should disable yourselves in both! In your persons, having by this continual, vile custom, brought yourselves to this shameful imbecility,

lity, that you are not able to ride or walk the journey of a Jew's sabbath, but you must have a reeky coal brought you from the next poor house to kindle your tobacco with!"

The rarity of the plant, though the king stigmatizes it as a weed that will grow any where, must have been the cause of the enormous price it bore when he wrote; which is ascertained by the succeeding observation. "Now how you are by this custom disabled in your goods, let the gentry of this land bear witness; some of them bestowing three, some four hundred pounds a year upon this precious stink." Well might the censor denounce tobacco, procured at this rate. The income of the humble citizen must, indeed, have been incompetent to obtain it, and at the same time pay the king's demands for the exigencies of government. "And for the vanities committed in this filthy custom, is it not both great vanity and uncleanness, that at the table, a place of respect, of cleanliness, of modesty, men should not be ashamed to sit tossing of tobacco pipes, and puffing of the smoke of tobacco one to another, making the filthy smoke and stink thereof to exhale athwart the dishes and infect the air, when, very often, men that abhor it are at their repast? Surely smoke becomes a kitchen far better than a dining-chamber; and yet it makes a kitchen also, oftentimes, in the inward parts of men, soiling and infecting them with an unctuous and oily kind

of

of soot, as hath been found in some great tobacco-takers that, after their death, were opened. And not only meal-time, but no other time, nor action, is exempted from the public use of this uncivil trick: so, as if the wives of Dieppe list to contest with this nation for good manners, their worst manners would, in all reason, be found at least not so dishonest as ours are in this point.

"The public use whereof, at all times and in all places, hath now so far prevailed, as divers men, very sound both in judgment and complexion, have been at last forced to duck themselves in that rain-water, and so become fools as well as the rest of the people, and, partly, be as one that was content to eat garlick (which he did not love) that he might not be troubled with the smell of it in the breath of his fellows. And is it not a great vanity, that a man cannot heartily welcome his friend now, but strait they must be infumed with tobacco? No, it is become, in place of a cure, a point of good fellowship; and he that will refuse to take a pipe of tobacco with his fellows (though by his own election he would rather feel the savour of a sink) is accounted peevish, and no good company; even as they do with tippling in the cold Eastern countries. Yea, the mistress cannot in a more mannerly kind entertain her servant, than by giving him, out of her fair hand, a pipe of tobacco."

The

The king concludes with pronouncing the use of tobacco, "a custom loathsome to the eye, hateful to the nose, harmful to the brain, dangerous to the lungs, and, in the black, stinking fume thereof, nearest resembling the horrible Stygian smoke of the pit that is bottomless."

It is impossible to give a better idea of the manners of the community, than by consulting authors who treat on morals; at every page a picture presents itself drawn from the life, and coming from the pencil of the Reformer; no rational doubts can be entertained of the correctness of the portrait. I am now obliged to an anonymous work, published by Edward Blount in 1620, under the title of "Observations and Discourses," for a sketch of the Traveller of that period, which will afford equal entertainment and information. "It appears most in some that return from travelling, who, being incapable of other proficiency, by their observations of governments, of nations, situation of countries, dispositions of people, their policy and the like, these things not understanding, or not knowing how to apply, which to the bettering of our judgement and manners is the right use of all we find, either in reading or travel, they, in their stead, bring home only fashions of behaviour, and such outward appearances that a man must guess they have travelled (for there is no other way) by a *leg*, or a *piccadill*, or a new cloak, or a mangled suit, or words all compliment"

compliment and no sense, or mincing of their own language, or making new and absurd derivations, such as yet the world never heard of, or in every period of their discourse to say something of Paris and Orleans, Blois and Tours, and then conclude that the river of Loire is the most navigable of the world; or to talk of their mistresses, and protest that the French *damoiselle* is the most courtly, most complete, and for exquisiteness in behaviour and fashion may be a pattern to all the ladies of Europe; and from hence they will take occasion to fall into a digression of their loves, and to tell what hazards they have past with the wife of such a merchant, or the daughter of such a governor, or mistress of such a prince.

"All which fashions, observations, and wonders, be collected with being a few months in France. And thence being wafted over, the first man they meet is sure to know (if this half year in France hath not made them to forget their English tongue) the dangerousness of their passage; how near shipwreck they were; and talk as learnedly and seriously of navigation, only by the experience they have gotten in this double passage in a little bark, to and fro, as the best captain can do that hath been three times in the East Indies. But all these things before rehearsed, and divers more of the same kind, are not only their first month or half year's imitation and discourse upon their return, but continue to their dying day.

"At

"At London, being arrived, they are sure to make their first appearance with their last suit; there practise their compliment and courtesies upon all their acquaintance, make three or four forced faces. Thence, upon their *curtoe*, with a page and two lacquies, all in a livery, go to the tavern, find fault with all the wine, and yet be drunk; in which disguise they post to their sisters, or aunts, or grandmother, where they will be admired for their absurdities; and almost made madder by their praises. These be affected Monsieurs: but they that pass the mountains, and leave all this levity behind them, what do they observe? How do they return (I mean, still, affected travellers)? of the two the worse, and the more absurd, because the more grave. For a light fool is always more sufferable than a serious.

"The forced gravity of these so set them forth, as any man may discover them with half an eye; especially having the dependencies of an Italian suit, Spanish hat, Milan sword, nods, instead of legs, a few shrugs as if some vermin were making a progress from one shoulder to another, and the like.—This for their outside: but their discourse makes them every where ridiculous. The name of English gelding frights them; and thence they take occasion to fall into the commendation of a mule, or an ass.

"A pasty of venison makes them sweat, and then swear that the only delicacies be mushrooms,

or

or caveare, or snails. A toast in beer or ale drives them into madness; and so to declaim against the absurd and ignorant customs of their own country, and thereupon digress into the commendation of drinking their wine refreshed with ice or snow. So that those things which in other countries be used for necessity, they, in their own will, continue to shew their singularity. It were not hard in this discourse to point out the men; and it were a good deed to give you their names, that they may be publicly known; lest some, ignorant of their manners, be by their outside misled to admire them."

The custom of keeping women had by no means decreased when Heywood wrote his ΓΥΝΑΙΚΕΙΟΝ. "For concubines we need not travel so far as the Turk's Seraglio; since but few king's palaces are without them. And for such as we call sweethearts, friends, or good-wenches, should we but search noblemen's diaries, gentlemen's summer lodges, or citizens' garden-houses, and travel no farther, we should, no question, find plenty sufficient."

Of all our vicious customs in the reign of James I. none seems to have been carried to a greater extent than that of deviating from the truth. "There is a proverb frequent amongst us," says Heywood, "*Oportet mendacem esse memorem*:—it behoves a liar to have a good memory. Neither is the sentence more common,

than

than is the practice in these corrupt days: insomuch that one, ingeniously, speaking of the generality of it, thus said, or to the like effect: "Young men have learnt to lie by practice, and old men claim it by authority; gallants lie often to their mistresses; nay, even women's aprons are stringed with excuses. Most of our tradesmen use it in their bargaining; and some of our lawyers in their pleading. The soldier can agree with the thing itself, but quarrels at the name of the word. It hath been admitted into aldermen's closets, and sometimes into statesmen's studies. The traveller makes the modestest use of it, for it hath been his admittance to many a good meal."

The restlessness and inanity proceeding from want of serious and necessary employment has ever compelled the opulent portion of the citizens of this metropolis to have recourse to a variety of methods of killing time. Some of those are, at least, inoffensive; and one in particular, — that of visiting. The overrighteous, however, condemn visiting; and have condemned it probably long before the age now under notice. An anonymous author, whose labours appeared in 1620, has left us a long discourse on the subject; from which we discover, that, though visiting has ever been considered a feminine weakness, the force of example had produced a strong taste for it in the males. Our moralist declares, "It is a wonder

to

to see what multitudes there be of all sorts that make this their only business, and in a manner spend their whole time in compliment; as if they were born to no other end, bred to no other purpose, had nothing else to do, than to be a kind of living walking ghosts, to haunt and persecute others with unnecessary observation."

Of their further excesses in this way, he adds, "Some go abroad, and God knows the *visited* be not beholden to them. For if these giddy goers be forced to give a reason for their wheeling up and down the streets, their answer is, they know not else how to pass their time. And how tedious it is, for a man that accounts his hours, to be subject to these vacancies, and apply himself to lose a day with such time-passers; who neither come for business, nor out of true friendship, but only to spend the day; as if one had nothing else to do, but to supply their idle time! How hard a task this is, those that be haunted with these spirits do so sensibly feel, that I am loth to enlarge their torture; but only advise them to let those know, who make a profession to pass their time with the loss of mine, that as their visitations be unprofitable to themselves, so they be tedious and burthensome unto me. And if that serve not the turn against their untimely visits, then bolt my door, or hide myself; which shift I have known many put to, for want of other defence.

"And,

"And, besides, when these spirits walk abroad, it is rather to shew themselves, than to see any; which, for the most part, is never in the morning (and especially on Sundays, because it is the best day in the week); all that while they be building themselves, and viewing their own proportions; feeding, instead of a breakfast, upon how brave they shall appear in the afternoon; and then they go to the most public and most received places of entertainment, which be sundry, and therefore they stay not long in a place; but after they have asked you how you do, and told some old or fabulous news, laughed twice or thrice in your face, and censured those they know you love not (when, peradventure, the next place they go to, is to them — where they will be as courteous to you); spoke a few words of fashions and alterations; whispered some lascivious motion that shall be practised the next day; fallen into discourse of liberty, and how it agrees with humanity for women to have servants besides their husbands; made legs and postures of the last edition; with three or four new and diminutive oaths and protestations of their service and observance; they then retire to their coach, and so prepare for another company; and continue in this vocation till the beginning of the next day (that is, till past midnight), and so home: when, betimes in the morning, the decorum is—if it be a *lady visitor*, to send her *gentleman usher*, to see if all those be

be well that she saw in perfect health but the night before."

Another custom of the citizens is mentioned by the author of "Horæ Subsecivæ," which is that of the better classes invariably retiring into the country during the summer months; he supposes, through the necessity they found of changing the air, as that of the "city is so far from good, that it is neither tolerable nor indifferent."

Wilson, who wrote a life of James I. has this passage, in speaking of the earl of Northumberland: "The stout old earl, when he was got loose (he had been imprisoned), hearing that the great favourite Buckingham was drawn about with a coach and six horses (which was wondered at then as a novelty, and imputed to him as a mastering pride) thought if Buckingham had six, he might very well have eight in his coach; with which he rode through the city of London to Bath, to the vulgar talk and admiration; and, recovering his health there, he lived long after at Petworth, in Sussex; bating this over-topping humour, which shewed it rather an affected fit than a distemper. Nor did this addition of two horses by Buckingham grow higher than a little murmur. For in the late queen's time (Elizabeth) there were no coaches, and the first had but two horses; the rest crept in by degrees, as men at first venture to sea. And every new thing the people disaffect, they stumble at;

sometimes at the action for the person, which rises like a little cloud, but soon vanishes.

"So after, when Buckingham came to be carried in a chair upon men's shoulders, the clamour and noise of it was so extravagant, that the people would rail on him in the streets, loathing that men should be brought to as servile a condition as horses; so irksome is every little new impression that breaks an old custom, and rubs and grates against the public humour: but when time had made those chairs common, every loose pimp or minion used them; so that that which gave at first so much scandal was the means to convey those privately to such places, where they might give much more. Just like long hair, at one time decried as abominable—another time approved of as beautiful. So various are the fancies of the times."

Many little traits of character and customs are to be collected from Mrs. Lucy Hutchinson's Memoirs of her husband. When Sir Allan Apsley, her father, was lieutenant of the Tower, he had Sir Walter Raleigh and Mr. Ruthin in custody. Those gentlemen having amused their weary hours by experiments in chemistry, through the benevolent assistance of Lady Apsley, she soon became an adept in the preparation of simples, and more important medicines, which she administered to the other prisoners, to the best of her judgment, and added

such

such attendance and food as she conceived necessary for their situation. Miss Apsley, being the first daughter of her parents, received particular attention from them. She read well at four years of age, and at seven had no less than eight tutors; who were employed to teach her languages, musick, dancing, writing, and needlework. Such then, it may be inferred, was the practice in educating females of some importance in life during the reign of James I.

After the marriage of this young lady with Mr. Hutchinson, and his decease, she described him to their children as possessing such skill in fencing as became a gentleman; as being extremely fond of musick; "often diverting himself with a viol, on which he played masterly;" having, besides, an excellent ear, and much judgment in the science. He was a good marksman with the guns or match-locks then in use, and equally expert in archery; and, to conclude the list of his accomplishments, he was an amateur in paintings and engravings, and had a cabinet of curiosities, the articles of which pleased him in proportion to the ingenuity of their contrivance and the excellence of their execution. Beyond these circumstances of a general nature, it will not be necessary to proceed with the character of Colonel Hutchinson; as my object is only to ascertain the customs prevailing at different periods.

When

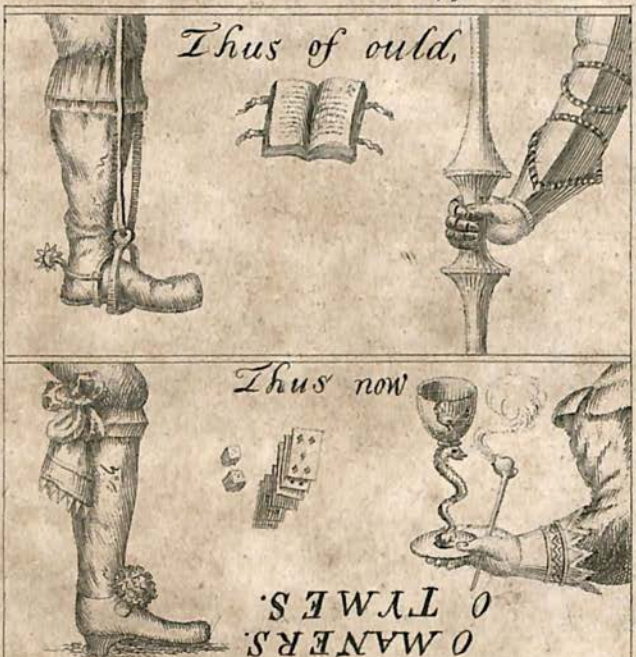
When Charles I. kept his court at Richmond, as Prince of Wales, the beauty and elegance of the females there were so very attractive, nay fascinating, that it was generally said, he who wished to retain the government of his heart should never venture to the place; which, it must be admitted, has still an hundred natural charms calculated to inspire and promote the tender passion. Mrs. Hutchinson relates a story with the utmost gravity, that affords a very strong illustration of the weakness of the human mind, or the enervating influence of this modern Paphos.

A gentleman visited Richmond, and found all the inhabitants deeply lamenting the death of a lady, whose perfections they described in terms so extremely florid and affecting, that the poor man became ardently in love with the portrait his fancy composed of the deceased; "no other discourse could at first please him, nor could he at last endure any other; he grew desperately melancholy; and would go to a mount where the print of her foot was cut, and lie there, pining and kissing of it all the day long, till at length death, in some months' space, concluded his languishment. This story was very true."

Mr. Hutchinson did not, however, apprehend any danger from trying the soft air of Richmond; and went there confident in his own temperament. He lodged with one of the king's musicians, whose house was much frequented by others

WOE TO DRVNKARDS.

A Sermon by SAMVEL WARD
Preacher of Ipſwich.



LONDON,
Printed for Iohn Griſmand 1627.

others of the band to rehearse their performances, and many elegant and accomplished women were attracted there by this circumstance; yet he contrived to escape the snares thus surrounding him. But the presiding Cupid was not to be contemned on his own ground with impunity. Finding he could not conquer in the usual way, he had recourse to stratagem; and sent the youngest daughter of Sir Allen Apsley to the very house where Mr. H. resided, under the ostensible purpose of learning the science of musick, though in reality to introduce Miss Lucy Apsley to his notice by proxy; and, by this means, he actually became most violently in love with a person he had never seen; which "he began to wonder at himself (says his lady) that *his* heart, which had ever had such an indifferency for the most excellent of woman-kind, should have so strong impulses towards a stranger he never saw; and certainly it was of the Lord (though he perceived it not), who had ordained him, through so many Providences, to be yoaked with her in whom he found so much satisfaction."

This page presents an emblematical plate, which will be found, on examination, to serve the double purpose of illustrating the dress of the arms and legs, and the total change of manners between the age of chivalry and 1627, the date when it was prefixed to a sermon preached by Samuel Ward, of Ipswich, whose artist deserves much

much credit for his faithful representation of the knee-bows, rose for the shoe, and the laced cuff. The sermon alluded to is entituled, "Woe to Drunkards;" and gives a melancholy picture of the licentious spirit of the times, which is corroborated by several horrid instances of drunkenness, occurring immediately under the author's knowledge. That quoted may serve to explain the pursuits of depravity in this disgusting form. "An ale-wife in Kesgrave, near to Ipswich, who would needs force three serving-men that had been drinking in her house, and were taking their leaves, to stay and drink the *three outs* first; that is—'*Wit out of the head*,' '*Money out of the purse*,' '*Ale out of the pot*;' as she was coming towards them with the pot in her hand, was suddenly taken speechless and sick; her tongue swollen in her mouth; never recovered speech; the third day after died. Two servants of a brewer in Ipswich, *drinking for the rump of a turkey*, struggling in their drink for it, fell into a scalding cauldron backwards; whereof the one died presently, the other lingeringly and painfully." But I desist, as further quotations would lead me to digress from London; and to atone for having already done so, I present the reader with one paragraph more—to the justice of which a negative cannot be offered. The preacher observes of the drunkard, "The devil, having moistened and steeped him in his liquor,

liquor, shapes him like soft clay into what mould he pleaseth."

An act of parliament was passed in the 21st of James I. to prevent and reform profane swearing and cursing; which enacted, that all persons confessing a trespass of this description, or convicted of it on the oath of two witnesses, should forfeit for each offence twelve-pence, to be applied for the use of the poor: default of payment consigned the offender (if an adult) to the stocks; and if under twelve years of age, he was to be publicly whipped. Another act accompanied the above, which was intended to restrain the inordinate "haunting of inns," ale, and other victualling houses, and the propensity to drunkenness: the penalty for the latter crime was five shillings, and the stocks for six hours upon non-payment. And the constable who neglected to execute any of the provisions, forfeited ten shillings. Those who after admonition were found tippling in ale-houses, became liable to a fine of three shillings and four pence by this statute; and provision was made in it to enforce enquiry. If any person once convicted of drunkenness appeared again as a delinquent before a magistrate, the latter was authorised to bind him over to his future good behaviour, under the penalty of ten pounds.

The third act on this head of 29 Car. II. cap. 7, for the better observation of the Lord's Day,

Day, commonly called Sunday, I shall give at length, as an ample illustration of what has been expected of the community by our forefathers.

"An Act for the better Observation of the Lord's day, commonly called Sunday:

"For the better observation and keeping holy the Lord's day, commonly called Sunday, be it enacted by the King's most excellent Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Lords spiritual and temporal, and of the Commons in this present Parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, that all the laws enacted and in force concerning the observation of the Lord's day, and repairing to the church thereon, be carefully put in execution: and that all and every person and persons whatsoever, shall, on every Lord's day, apply themselves to the observation of the same, by exercising themselves thereon in the duties of piety and true religion, publicly and privately; and that no tradesman, artificer, workman, labourer, or other person whatsoever, shall do or exercise any worldly labour, business or work, or their ordinary callings, upon the Lord's day, or any part thereof (works of necessity and charity only excepted). And that every person being of the age of fourteen years or upwards, offending in the premisses, shall, for every such offence, forfeit the sum of five shillings. And that no person or persons whatsoever shall publicly cry, shew forth, or

expose

expose to sale, any wares, merchandizes, fruit, herbs, goods or chattels whatsoever, upon the Lord's day, or any part thereof, upon pain that every person so offending shall forfeit the same goods so cried, or shewed forth, or exposed to sale.

"And it is further enacted, that no drover, horse-courser, waggoner, butcher, higler, their or any of their servants, shall travel, or come into his or their inn or lodging upon the Lord's day, or any part thereof, upon pain that each and every such offender shall forfeit twenty shillings for every such offence; and that no person or persons shall use, employ, or travel upon the Lord's day, with any boat, wherry, lighter, or barge, except it be upon extraordinary occasion, to be allowed by some justice of the peace of the county, or head officers, or some justice of the peace of the city, borough, or town corporate, where the fact shall be committed, upon pain that every person so offending shall forfeit and lose the sum of five shillings for every such offence. And that if any person offending in any of the premisses shall be thereof convicted, before any justice of the peace of the county, or the chief officer or officers, or any justice of the peace of or within any city, borough, or town corporate, where the said offences shall be committed, upon his or their view, or confession of the party, or proof of any one or more witnesses

by

by oath (which the said justices, chief officer or officers, is, by this act, authorized to administer), the said justice or chief officer or officers, shall give warrant under his or their hand and seal, to the constables or churchwardens of the parish or parishes where such offence shall be committed, to seize the said goods cryed, shewed forth, or put to sale, as aforesaid, and to sell the same, and to levy the said other forfeitures or penalties, by way of distress and sale of the goods of every such offender distrained, rendering to the said offenders the overplus of the monies raised thereby; and in default of such distress, or in case of insufficiency or inability of the said offender to pay the said forfeitures or penalties, that then the party offending be set publicly in the stocks, by the space of two hours. And all and singular the forfeitures or penalties aforesaid shall be employed and converted to the use of the poor of the parish where the said offences shall be committed; saving only that it shall and may be lawful to and for any such justice, mayor, or head officer or officers, out of the said forfeitures or penalties, to reward any person or persons that shall inform of any offence against this act, according to their discretions; so as such reward exceed not the third part of the forfeitures or penalties.

"Provided that nothing in this act contained shall extend to the prohibiting of dressing of meat

meat in families, or dressing or selling of meat in inns, cooks' shops or victualling-houses, for such as otherwise cannot be provided, nor to the crying or selling of milk before nine of the clock in the morning, or after four of the clock in the afternoon.

" Provided also, that no person or persons shall be impeached, prosecuted, or molested, for any offence before mentioned in this act, unless he or they be prosecuted for the same within ten days after the offence committed.

" Provided, and be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that if any person or persons whatsoever, which shall travel upon the Lord's day, shall be then robbed, that no hundred, or the inhabitants thereof, shall be charged with, or answerable for any robbery so committed; but the person or persons so robbed shall be barred from bringing any action for the said robbery, any law to the contrary notwithstanding. Nevertheless, the inhabitants of the counties and hundreds (after notice of any such robbery to them or some of them given, or after hue and cry for the same to be brought) shall make, or cause to be made, fresh suit and pursuit after the offenders, with horsemen and footmen, according to the statute made in the twenty-seventh year of the reign of queen Elizabeth, upon pain of forfeiting to the king's majesty, his heirs and successors, as much money as might have been

recovered

recovered against the hundred by the party robbed, if this law had not been made.

"Provided also, that no person or persons, upon the Lord's day, shall serve or execute, or cause to be served or executed, any writ, process, warrant, order, judgment or decree (except in cases of treason, felony, or breach of peace); but that the service of every such writ, process, warrant, order, judgement or decree, shall be void to all intents and purposes whatsoever; and the person or persons so serving or executing the same, shall be as liable to the suit of the party grieved, and to answer damages to him for doing thereof, as if he or they had done the same without any writ, process, warrant, order, judgment, or decree at all."

The force of education and example in forming the manners was particularly and most energetically demonstrated, in the characters of sir John Fitz-James, and sir Matthew Hale. An anecdote of each of those excellent men is worth all the illustrations of this work. The former had that strict sense of impartial justice, that he even dismissed his principal clerk for having received a tankard, not as a bribe, but as a present after the determination of a cause. His biographers say of sir John, "that the instant he seated himself upon the bench, he lost all recollection of his best friends: who might pass before him without receiving the least intimation that he had ever

seen

seen them." A relation once solicited a favour of him: "Come to my house," said he, "and I will deny you nothing; but in the king's court I must do you *justice*." The attorney-general was weak and criminal enough to request his interest on the part of the king, in a cause to be tried before him: "I will do the king right," he replied. A verdict was given against the crown, and the attorney-general expostulated with Fitz-James; who dismissed the subject by adding, "he could not do his majesty right, if he had not done *justice*."

Sir Matthew Hale was ever deaf to private recommendations and applications from persons concerned in causes brought before him. A duke thus circumstanced waited upon, and would have prejudiced him in his favour, under the despicable pretence of laying the case before him, that he might the more readily comprehend its merits when on the bench. Hale refused to listen to his representations; and told him, "he acted improperly in this attempt to influence his opinion; as he had determined never to hear either party till each were legally and openly confronted together." The peer retired, a prey to confusion and indignation, and, soon after, complained to the king of our "second Daniel:" who had the good sense and justice to reply, "he might content himself that he had received no other insult;" adding, "he verily believed he would have used himself

himself no better, if he had gone to solicit him in any of his own causes."

Burnet relates the following particulars of him in his life; which are repeated in "Turner's Remarkable Providences," fol. 1697. "Another passage fell out in one of his circuits which was somewhat censured, as an affectation of an unreasonable strictness, but it flowed from his exactness to the rules he had set himself. A gentleman had sent him a buck for his table, that had a trial at the assizes: so, when he heard his name, he asked, "if he was not the same person that had sent him venison?" And, finding he was the same, he told him, "he could not suffer the trial to go on, till he had paid him for his buck." To which the gentleman answered, "that he never sold his venison; and that he had done nothing to him which he did not do to every judge that had gone that circuit;" which was confirmed by several gentlemen then present. But all would not do; for the lord chief baron had learned from Solomon, that "a gift perverteth the ways of judgment:" and, therefore, he would not suffer the trial to go on till he had paid for the present. Upon which the gentleman withdrew the record. And at Salisbury the dean and chapter having, according to the custom, presented him with six sugar loaves in his circuit, he made his servants pay for the sugar before he would try their cause."

Dr.

Dr. Burnet describes sir Matthew Hale as a man of unbounded charity, who gave the tenth penny of all his receipts to the poor; and, at the same time, he carefully selected the objects of his bounty. After he had been appointed a judge, he sent his dividend of the rule and box money to different gaols for the discharge of prisoners, who were carefully kept from a knowledge of their benefactor. The marshal of the king's bench was compelled, by virtue of his office, to present the judges of that court with a piece of plate as a New-year's gift. Sir Matthew wished to have refused it; but his brethren interfered, and insisted it was his right; and that a refusal might become a precedent to the injury of his successors. Convinced in part by this mode of reasoning, the worthy Hale begged he might receive the sum intended to be appropriated by the marshal for the purchase of the plate; which having been complied with, the whole amount was sent for the same purpose to the prisons.

The decent poor of his neighbourhood were frequently invited to his table, where they were treated with every attention. Those who were prevented from enjoying this gratification, by illness, had meat sent to their residences. When walking near his mansion, if he was addressed for charity, he immediately enquired why the party did not work: a declaration that they could not find employment, instantly procured

it from Sir Matthew; who directed such persons to gather the stones in one of his fields into a heap, which he afterwards sent to the different roads for the amendment of them.

We have, at length, arrived at an æra to which we hope no future period in the history of England will furnish a parallel. It would be the height of presumption in me to pronounce whether Charles I. was tyrannical, or the people rebellious. I shall therefore only observe on the character of this monarch, that more unjustifiable steps were taken by many of his predecessors, without producing resistance; which proves that the people had either become more enlightened or more turbulent than their ancestors. Charles was certainly a man of grave and dignified manners, enlightened in his understanding, and a great patron of the fine arts: the popular acts of the interregnum were much the reverse.

If Mrs. Hutchinson may be relied upon as a faithful historian (and I do not perceive any reason to doubt her veracity, or the authenticity of her information), we are much obliged to her for the following traits in the characters of Charles I. Cromwell, and Ireton. The king was at Hampton Court, in the midst of his enemies, and either very weak or very deceitful in his measures. "The king, by reason of his daily converse with the officers, began to be trinkling with them, not only then but before, and had drawn

drawn in some of them to engage to corrupt others to fall in with him; but, to speak the truth of all, Cromwell was at that time so incorruptibly faithful to his trust and the people's interest, that he could not be drawn in to practise even his own usual and natural dissimulation on this occasion.

"His son-in-law Ireton, that was as faithful as he, was not so fully of the opinion (till he had tried it, and found to the contrary) but that the king might have been managed to comply with the public good of his people, after he could no longer uphold his own violent will. But, upon some discourses with him, the King uttering these words to him, 'I shall play my game as well as I can;' Ireton replied, 'If your Majesty have a *game* to play, you must give us also the liberty to play ours." Colonel Hutchinson privately discoursing with his cousin about the communications he had had with the King, Ireton's expressions were these, "He gave us words, and we paid him in his own coin, when we found he had no real intention to the people's good; but to prevail, by our factions, to regain by art what he had lost in fight."

"The Parliament, as an aggregate body, seemed to have no decided character at this time—deceit, distrust, and interest, evidently pervaded every breast composing it; and yet the representation was sufficiently general." The writers who have

favoured us with an account of the events of the period under notice, say, that it was divided into three classes:—two of an imperious and aspiring description, which favoured each other's views as convenience suited; and a third, who termed themselves, or were termed Levellers: the latter, as the word implies, endeavoured to *level* the others; asserting, that the good of the state required a sacrifice of personal interest, and greater equality in the enjoyment of offices and common rights.

The Presbyterian and Independent parties had so little regard to decency (according to Mrs. H.), that they entered into open contention for superiority; and it has been asserted, that even at this æra of intended Reformation of manners and customs, persons were known to procure seats in the House of Commons to protect them from their creditors.

It is impossible for us to decide, whether the Reformers or Levellers had nothing more in view than the restoration of good government; but it is certain that their example produced an association of persons, out of Parliament, who wished for an Agrarian law. Cromwell made the best use of these dissensions for his own ambitious purposes. When he left London, on one of the expeditions to which he was appointed, the chiefs of the Levellers attended him part of the way, and received such flattering distinctions, that they

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were convinced of his firm adherence to their cause; but they were afterwards greatly vexed and disappointed at hearing Cromwell dismissed a coachfull of Presbyterians, with exactly similar professions of attachment to their party.

It will be admitted that the few traits I have given of Cromwell's character sufficiently explain the nature of it. I therefore hope the reader will excuse my saying more of this singular man than Mrs. Hutchinson enables me to do, in the following extract from her work; particularly as a full account of him may be found in "Londinium Redivivum." "After Colonel Hutchinson had given Fleetwood that caution, he was going into the country; when the Protector sent to search him out with all the earnestness and haste that could possibly be; and the Colonel went to him—who met him in one of the galleries, and received him with open arms *and the kindest embraces* that could be given, *and complained that the Colonel should be so unkind as never to give him a visit*; professing how welcome he should have been—*the most welcome person in the land*; and with these smooth insinuations led him along to a private place, giving him thanks for the advertisement he had received from Fleetwood, and *using all his art to get out of the Colonel the knowledge of the persons engaged in the conspiracy against him.* But none of this cunning, nor promises, nor flatteries, could prevail with

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the Colonel to inform him more than he thought necessary to prevent the execution of the design; which when the Protector perceived, *he gave him most infinite thanks for what he had told him*, and acknowledged it opened to him some mysteries that had perplexed him, and agreed so with other intelligence he had, that he must owe his preservation to him. 'But (says he) dear Colonel, why will not you come in and act among us?' The Colonel told him plainly, because he liked not any of his ways since he broke the Parliament, as being those which led to certain and unavoidable destruction, not only of themselves, but of the whole Parliament party; and thereupon took occasion, with his usual freedom, to tell him into what a sad hazard all things were put; and how apparent a way was made for the restitution of all former tyranny and bondage. Cromwell *seemed to receive this honest plainness with the greatest affection that could be*, and acknowledged his precipitateness in some things; *and with tears* complained how Lambert had put him upon all those violent actions; for which he now accused him, and sought his ruin. He expressed an earnest desire to restore the people's liberties, and to take and pursue more safe and sober councils, and wound up all with a very fair courtship of the Colonel to engage with him, offering him any thing he would account worthy of him.

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"The Colonel told him, he could not be forward to make his own advantage by serving to the enslaving of his country. The other told him, he intended nothing more than the restoring and cofirming the liberties of the good people; in order to which he would employ such men of honour and interest as the people should rejoice, and he should not refuse to be one of them. And after with all his arts he had endeavoured to excuse his public actions, and to draw in the Colonel, who again had taken the opportunity to tell him freely his own and all good men's discontents and dissatisfactions, he dismissed the Colonel, with such expressions as were publicly taken notice of by all his little courtiers then about him; when he went to the end of the gallery with the Colonel, and there embracing him, said, aloud to him, "Well, Colonel, satisfied or dissatisfied, you shall be one of us; for we can no longer exempt a person so able and faithful from the public service; and you shall be satisfied in all honest things." The Colonel left him, with that respect that became the place he was in, when, immediately the same courtiers who had some of them passed him by without knowing him when he came in, although they had been once of his familiar acquaintance, and the rest who had looked upon him with such disdainful neglect as those little people use to those who are not of their faction, now flocked about him; striving

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who should express most respect, and, by an extraordinary officiousness, redeem their late slightings."

Harrison, one of the leaders of the new order of saints, had his share of duplicity and aristocracy. Spain, acting upon motives extremely similar to those just described, thought proper to acknowledge the English Republic, by sending ambassadors to England. This representative of Royalty could be received in no other way than by the Parliament; accordingly Harrison, the day before that appointed for his reception, admonished those whom he observed to be richly dressed, to labour to shine before their new friends in wisdom and piety, rather than in gold and silver, which did not become saints. "And, that the next day, when the ambassadors came," says Mrs. Hutchinson, "they should not set themselves out in gorgeous habits, which were unsuitable to holy professions." The Colonel (Hutchinson) although he was not convinced of any misbecoming bravery in the suit he wore that day, which was but of sad coloured cloth, trimmed with gold and silver points and buttons, yet, because he would not appear offensive in the eyes of religious persons, the next day he went in a plain black suit, and so did all the other gentlemen; but Harrison came that day in a scarlet coat and cloak, both laden with gold and silver lace, and the coat so covered with foil, that scarcely could one

one discern the ground; and, in this glittering habit, sat himself just under the speaker's chair."

It is barely within the comprehension of a modern Englishman to conceive the dreadful state to which their ancestors were generally reduced by the rancorous enmities and jealousies of the leaders of the revolt and their opponents. Almost all the garrisons belonging to the Parliament were infested by persons who endeavoured to supplant those in authority. Indeed, this was frequently accomplished when men of integrity and spirit commanded; as it was impossible they could contend against the little, contemptible arts practised in the Parliament, in conjunction with those under their orders, through the medium of complaints and insinuations. The members alluded to were much detested, and termed *the worsted-stocking men*. "Some as violently curbed their Committees, as the Committees factiously molested them," continues our fair authoress. "Nor was the faction only in particular garrisons; but the Parliament house itself began to fall into the two great oppositions of Presbytery and Independency; and, as if discord had infested the whole English air with an epidemical heat, burning and dissension in all places, even the King's councils and garrisons were as factiously divided."

Monopoly existed in full vigour about 1640; when sir Nicholas Crispe, as it is quaintly expressed

pressed in the 'Perfect Journal,' was on his knees in the House of Commons for a monopolist in red lead and copperas. Mr. Goring was accused of the same offence, in his speculations upon the sale of tobacco; but he escaped by transferring the charge to his father, the lord Goring. And, on the first day of December, "there were fifty monopolists discovered in the House."

The Parliament published in 1643, "The First Century of Scandalous, Malignant Priests, made and admitted into Benefices by the Prelates in whose hands the Ordination of Ministers and Government of the Church hath been;" which is accompanied by a Preface signed John White; who says, "In this book thou shalt have an assay of the gall and wormwood of the Episcopal Government taken out of London, the Metropolis, and of the Counties adjacent, that, when thou seest what vermine crawls upon and devours the principal and vital parts, thou mayst reflect with a mournful heart upon the more miserable condition of Wales, and of the North, the more remote parts of this kingdom; where, upon scrutiny, will be easily found many for one as vile and abominable as these. And, if thou wouldest have the people perish for want of vision, or empoisoned with the destructive errors of Popery and Arminianism, and the land yet more defiled with cursing, swearing, drunkenness, whoredome, sodomie,

sodomie, then put thy shoulders still to the support of the said Church Government and Governors."

Admitting this "First Century" to be a correct representation of the manners of 1643, no age or country ever before exhibited a scene of parallel depravity. But as there are no more than 100 instances detailed from, at least, 15,000 beneficed and unbeneficed priests' conduct, we may presume that a *little* party spirit operated in the breast of the compiler; from whose charges we select some circumstances which will explain customs then prevailing.

"Thomas Thrall, of St. Mary Mounthaw," he says, "was a common haunter of taverns and alehouses, who not only read the Book of Sports from the pulpit, but encited his hearers to practise them; himself setting the example by playing at cudgels. Philip Leigh, vicar of Redburn, is accused, amongst other enormities, of drinking healths. Edward Jenkinson, of Panfield, Essex, added to his other offences the crime of calling the godly, reverend ministers, *roasted dogs*, which draw away other men's pigeons. Richard Hart practised a curious custom in drinking, according to Mr. White, by "drawing his parishioners with him to his house, forcing them there to drink until they be drunk, causing every one to cast a die in their course, and to drink up so many cups as fell to their chance." Cuthbert

bert Dale seeing a stranger *in the Church put on his hat in sermon time*, he openly then called him "sawcy, unmannerly clown; and bid the churchwardens take notice of him;" and the next Lord's day took occasion in his sermon again to speak of him, being then absent, and to call him "lobb, saucy goose, idiot, a wigeon, a cuckoo; saying he was a scabbed sheep, a straggler, &c." Thomas Geary indulged in the practice of calling his auditors "*sowded pigs, bursten rams*, and *speckled frogs*." Thomas Staple annexed to his misdeeds of a grosser nature, the *drinking of healths round a joint stool.*

There is a custom mentioned in the "Perfect Journal," which, I believe, is entirely disused at present. On the 28th day of November, 1640, "Master Prin and Master Burton came into London, being met and accompanied with many thousands of horse and foot, and rode with rosemary and bayes in their hands and hats: which is generally esteemed the greatest affront that ever was given to the Courts of Justice in England."

The grave, religious, sententious, and moralizing manners of the City of London towards the close of the reign of Charles I. cannot be better illustrated than by presenting my readers with the first number of what we should term a newspaper, did not those of the present day differ from it as essentially as a narrative from a sermon. It is, however, certain that "New Christian

Uses,"

Uses," published weekly, was intended for a vehicle of intelligence.

"New Christian Uses, upon the Weekly true Passages and Proceedings, which from Week to Week are most considerable in the whole Kingdom."

"To the Reader.

"Christian Reader, I spoke to thee in these godly notions towards the end of thy weeke, hopeing thou wilt be at leasure after thy reading the daily stories to thinke and observe with me. I can allow thee to turne thyselfe from one Diurnall to another, and to weary thyselfe, and refresh thyselfe with the witt and relations of all; only, in a Christian regard to thy condition and the time, spare one serious thought to looke backe upon all, and see the worke of a diviner hand.

"Let us not be merely Athenians in asking for news; but let us all stay a little and consider what the Lord hath done; to every thing (sayes Solomon) there is a season, and to every purpose; there is a time to laugh, and a time to weep; and such is the mixtures of our providences; and I read divers in their suteable dispositions and expressions upon them, all have their freedom in observation; but all their relations are meerely historicall and civill, and they are differently qualified; some are musicall, some more serious: I do desire to gather up, and glean such truths,

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as others do scatter the weeke before me, and binde them into Christian observations and godly uses, that we may be a people rightly read in divine proceedings, and God expects such a reducement and application at our hands; if we would be wise Christians, we must study God in the creature, in the variety of his workes; Christ never came to any place, but he had an holy observation to draw forth occasionally; the people of Israell had such instructors, when God led them in the way of his providence.

"Passage.

"The trained bands and auxiliaries of London marcht in triumph into the city, with green boughs in their hatts, with the losse of few, not an hundred men it is thought, of the trained bands slaine and taken.

"The providence and use.

"The preservation God gave to this expedition is rare, that so many of the city men that had been used to "soft raiment," and to "fare deliciously," that had not been hardened abroad with cold and watchings, men nursed and educated in fulnesse and prosperity, that these should endure the marchings, the iourneyes, without distempers, in much patience, in afflictions, in necessities, in distresses, in watchings, in fastings; and a journey of so many miles to Glocester, and through so much of the enemies quarters, who had in

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policy and necessity taken away provision; and those places where they sojourned, like the inhabitants of Succoth, and Penuell, who were ready to answer them as they did Gidion and his army, when they sayd, Give, I pray you, loaves of bread unto the people that follow, for they be faint: and they replyed, Are Zeba and Zalmanna in thy hands, that we should give bread unto thy army? And then, after so many weary steps, at the period almost of their returne, to looke such a powerfull army as the Kings in the face, to fight against so many advantages, their enemies falling upon them like Amalek upon the children of Israel, in their weakest and faintest condition, and in the battle to cover their heads with such a mercy, that so many, after a victory in their own bloods as well as their enemies, should returne in safety, let us make this use a use of praise: "Oh give the thankes unto the Lord: among the gods there is none like unto him, neither is there any workes like unto his workes: he shall cover thee with his feathers, and under his wings shalt thou trust."

"Pessage.

"The taking the nationall league or covenant in Saint Margreats, where was a great confluence of commanders, gentry, and souldiers, and it was generally subscribed to after the sermon.

"The providence and use.

"The people of God have ever taken this course

course of covenanting with God. Nehemiah with the elders and people made a covenant in the time of their affliction; and they all assembled, and sayd, "Because of all this we make a sure covenant, and write it, and our Princes, Levites, and Priests do seale unto it:" and in Josiah's time the people made a covenant and stood unto it, to walke before the Lord, and to keepe his testimonies and his statutes with all their heart; and it is a signe it is a covenant from Heaven, and like to be a covenant of successe when the people willingly offer; and at such times of universall covenanting, God touches the heart, and prepares the soule, and infuses a secret disposition; this he did into his people of Israel and Judah, also in Judah the hand of God was to give them one heart; and when God would have Saul honoured, it is said, as many as went God had touched their hearts; the hearts of all are in God's hands, and they make forth, and withdraw according to the good pleasure of the Almighty; "he turneth them like rivers of water," let us make this use of it.

"Use of addresse.

"In all our solemn designes and congregatings which aime at confederating and binding up a multitude and people together, let us looke up to the first moover, who begins all motions, and in whome all motions end; the God of motion and of union, the God of illumination and conviction.

viction. "O teach me in thy way, saies David, and lead me in thy truth." It is only God that gives knowledge and judgement, that gathers a people into harmony, or disperses them into factions; God made the tribes follow Saul, and leave him.

"Passage.

"There were some colours of the enemies taken this weeke, with severall mottoes and pourtraitures; as one with a House of Peers painted, and two traitors heads on it, and the motto, '*Ut extra sic infra*,' 'as without so within.' The other, one looking downe to a broken crosse; the motto, '*Spero meliora*,' 'I hope better.' The other a picture of a Round-head and a Cavalier pursuing, with this motto, '*Qui sequitur vincit*,' 'he that followes conquers.'

"Providence and use.

"What can we esteem of this, but that God suffered them to be taken by us, the better to assure us of their intentions, hopes, and malice? Into what height of wickednesse are these men, that dare paint their malignity and devotion? And yet we read many serious and solemn protestations of love to the Protestant Religion and to the Parliament. But by such providences as these they are revealed and discovered. We see now God hath many wayes to detect them, and inform us. And, to take us off from credulity and beleife of their pretences, a few colours here shall

discover to us. God makes use of small occasions to reveale great impieties. We know a small piece of paper let us see that darke and secret concell of the Papists in the Powder Treason; therefore let us make this use of it.

" Use of acknowledgment.

" To acknowledge the omnipotency of God, who commands all creatures, even the least, to effect greatest things. As to the Centurion; he saith to one, Go, and he goeth; and to another, Do this, and he doth it. He is a God that brings forth the things that are hidden into light: there is no darknesse to thee, oh God: the night and the day are both one.

" Passage.

" His Excellency the Earl of Essex made a free protestation to forget and trample upon all former aspersions, and of the honourable respects he bare to sir William Waller; the malignants giving out, that there were great differences betwixt them.

" Providence.

" It hath been the enemies great designe to devide us, and it is the only jesuiticall trick, for the Jesuites in Germany will come over into the Lutheran Churches, and be Lutherans for a time, to enflame the differences betwixt them and the Calvinists; this the devill begune in paradise in the seed of division, and continued through Cain and Abel, through Ismael and Isaac, through Jacob

Jacob and Esau, through the tribes and kingdoms of Israell and Judah: but God hath a providence still to disappoint him; and when the godly have had any eminent designe, and layd the foundation of it in unity, then the wicked agents of Sathen have been working. Sanballad and Tobiah laboured to withdraw the King's heart from Nehemiah and the Jews; and when Paul and Barnabas drew many Jewes and Gentiles after them, the unbeleiving Jewes stirred up some, and made their minds evill affected against the bretheren. These attempts have been working in our armies and unions; but God still frustrates the purposes of such endeavours, and keepes the hearts of our commanders close to one another. God is the Lord of love; he can send a spirit of affection and peace; such he put betwixt David and Jonathan, and he can mingle a spirit of perversenesse, as betwixt Abimelech and the men of Shechem. He can take up differences and compose emulations: he made Esau and Jacob embrace. Let us make this use.

"Use of approach.

"Oh, let us approach neere unto our God, who is the fountaine from whence all blessed correspondencies take their rise, and are fed. Let us admire our mercy in these sweet unions, and praise God in that Canticle, 'Oh, what a comely thing it is, bretheren, to dwell together in unitie!'

" Passage.

" Captaine Sydenham is wrought upon by the earl of Craford, to betray the town of Poole in Dorsetshire; he gives him money, but the captain acquaints the governour: and when Craford entered in the night in hopes, they discharged their ordnance, and slew and tooke divers.

" Providence and use.

" We may still see the restlesse working of Sathan in his instruments. How he tries all wayes, and moves all stones, and doth not only tempt immediately by his own essence, but he stirs up others; he suggests to the soules of wicked men many of their devices and designes, therefore he is called the prince of the air working in the children of disobedience. And though men have corruption enough in themselves to put them upon unlawfull wayes and courses, yet he always aides them, and advances their evill councellors, and mingles and contributes his too: and such wicked and ungodly attempts do alwayes argue the wickednesse of a cause; for a good cause and good ends will alwayes pursue and continue good wayes and direct proceedings. Their windings and turnings are but the crooked courses of the serpent, and are alwayes about; men never arriving so surely and right at their wished desires: and when the ungodly do take advice of their hearts to walke in such paths, the devill he makes the way easie, and puts them on fast;

fast; and to be sure, though he flatter them in his suggestions, yet he will do this to cast some destructive accidents and misfortunes into the way; and God suffers him so to do, 'that the wicked may be taken in the worke of their own hands, and fall into their own pits, and be caught in their own snares.' Let us then make this use of it.

"Use of admiration.

"Let us admire the justice of God upon the ungodly, and their unlawfull courses, for God hath usually a disappointment for the crafty. Achitophel and Haman are examples in the word of God, who both perished by their own councells. And let us praise God too for his care and providence over his church and people, who turneth all the mischiefs that are plotted against them into their greater deliverance, and more glorious preservation, so as we may say in David's language, 'Surely the rage of man shall praise thee, the rest of the rage shalt thou restrain.'

"Passages

"Doctor Featley, a divine, is discovered to be an intelligencer to Oxford, his letters taken, and he confesses. Mr. Motte and Mr. Hungerford who went from London to Oxford constantly as spies, one of them is apprehended. Mr. Wat Mountague, the jesuiticall professer for the queen, is taken in the disguise of a Frenchman.

"Providence.

" Providence.

" We have more cause to admire God still, who brings to light every day such practise; surely ' there is no inchantment against Israel.' How many have the discoveries been since this Parliament began! Had not God lighted us into their dark plots with a beame of his own, we had been long ago desolated and ruined, but he that is bound to his church by such a solemn covenant from all eternity, which he hath revealed in his son, and hath laid open in many other particular promises, that he is obliged to deliver us, to reveal our destructions which our enemies have digged deep to hide." One would think now that when they see themselves brought forth, all their disguises taken off, and they found out so providentially, that they should walk hereafter in more plain and honest ways; but this is the greatest intoxication that Satan uses; to fill up and poison the soul with carnall assurances and confidence, till he totally betray them. Let us make this use.

" Use of Godly walking.

" Since it hath pleased God to put out such a candle into the hands of the Parliament and his people, to finde out their enemies by the light of such a providence in their shady walkings, Oh, let us keep to him in his wayes. ' Oh, lead me in thy paths,' sayes David, for if we walk in Gods wayes, God will shew us the wayes of our adver-

adversaries. 'Thy word is a light unto my feet, and a lanthorn unto my steps.' Oh, let us take heed of hiding any malignant councells in depths, and darknesses, and disguises. God will bring them all forth; 'the secrets of all hearts shall be revealed.'

"The Review.

"Quest. In these last providences, whether is there more mercies or afflictions?

"Resolution.

"More mercies.

"I. The safe return of the trained bands and auxiliaries.

"II. The generall taking of the national covenant with great cheerfulnesse.

"III. The colours of the enemies discovered, with their wicked pourtraictures and mottoes.

"IV. The testimonies of agreement in our grandest commanders.

"V. Captain Sydenham's and Glengham's faithfulnesse, in a just slaughter of divers of the earl of Craford's troops.

"VI. The discoveries and apprehendings of Doctor Featley, Master Motte, Master Hungerford, Master Mountague.

"The afflictions.

"I. Some excursions of Colonell Hastings in Liecestershire, in which some few are hurt and spoiled.

"II. Some 500, or few more, of ours slain in

in the battle near Newbery, and some five or six citizens, men of some quality.

" The use.

" By this review of providence, we see God's dealing towards us in this late season. We see he hath appeared more in mercies then judgements; we see he hath shewed himself a gracious God; and, let us observe, this season was the season of our great covenant, and stiring in with God. Let us then still labour by such godly endeavours to keep up our souls in such an holy temper, and let us apply our spirits into the like courses of walking with God, that he may walk with us in the week to come, in the like manner."

In this way did the Puritans secure partizans. Another method was pursued by the " Welsh Mercury," which appears in the form of puns and quibbles. A specimen succeeds; " Her do hear for certain, that the Scots are in a chearful readiness to advance forward for England; which her countrymen do like very well, and will join with her in footing of a northern jig, while harmonies money doth lead the morris-dance; which is better musick than all her Welsh harps.

When pay-day comes, the soldier drinks and sings:

There is no musick without silver strings.

" But her shall have much to do with Mr. Blue-cap, when her comes into England with her great thousands of men; but her have a plot

plot beyond her northern wit; for her have a project to press all her countrymen that are under ground, and do live in her mountains; which are a people called The Echoes. Her asked her, t'other day, if her stood for the King? and her answered, 'The King.' Then her asked, if her stood for the Parliament? and her replied, 'For the Parliament.' So that her be no delinquent that doth stand for the King and Parliament; and therefore her will come with an army of Echoes and voices, that shall cry, *Vivez le Roy et le Parlement.*"—Welsh Mercury, Oct. 21, 1643.

Thus far we have moralizing and folly: the next article, in this list of the blessings of civil war, will be found much less pleasing; and is from the "Mercurius Aulicus," of December 17, 1643.—"Now as the Members do lord it at Westminster, so doth Master Venn in his castle at Windsor; where, if you chance to die, there is no Christian burial. For Colonel Shelley (who, for his loyalty to his majesty in the business of Chichester, hath been prisoner there above a twelvemonth) desired Venn to allow Christian burial to a gentleman that died there; to whom Venn returned this very answer, here inserted from the original, under Venn's own hand.

'Sir,

'You know I am not willing to deny you any

any thing reasonable; but what you mean by Christian burial, I understand not. Sure I am, it is Christian burial to have Christians to accompany the corps to the earth; and not to have prayers said over the dead. I am sure this is papistical burial; and to have this done, I denied it to a captain's wife lately buried, and to all of our side; yea, and in the town also; for it is against the covenant we have taken, and therefore I must crave excuse. Only this I shall afford you—that I do afford to ourselves—You shall have your request in this—that some of your officers shall carry him to the grave, if ye do it in the day-time.

'JOHN VENN.'

"Is not this a champion for the Protestant religion, who hath the face to give it us under his hand, that Christian burial, according to the doctrine of the church of England, is expressly against their covenant? But Mistress Venn affirms it, and we are bound to believe her, who, good lady, professed to her husband—She could not sleep or take any rest in any part of Windsor castle, but only in the queen's lodging.'"

It has been my endeavour to avoid saying much on the transactions of this period, when the whole nation forgot every claim of humanity and society, and individuals endeavoured to do men of opposite sentiments every possible injury; but,

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as I shall have occasion to notice Blood's attempt to seize the crown of England, it may be proper to mention a prior outrage, related in the "Mercurius Aulicus," 1643.

"It was June 7 advertised, that upon Friday last Master Martin, and a rabble of his raking up, forced an entrance into the Abbie Church at Westminster; and, having made such spoyle upon the utensils and ornaments of the church as he chanced to meet with, brake open two doores which open into a private roome, where the Regalia (that is to say, his Majesties crownes and sceptres, and other ensigns of state) used antiently by the Kings of England at their Coronations, have beene accustomably kept. But because there was another dore which must first be opened before they could obtaine their entrance, Master Wheeler (whose wife is the king's laundresse) and Falconbridge (Sir Robert Pie's servant in the Treasury), who, living long in and about the Close of Westminster, had beene made acquainted with the secret, by drawing up a beam which made fast that doore (to come at which another doore or two were first broke open), gave him way to enter. But, as it happened, before the crown and other ornaments of the state was seized upon, the Earle of Holland, accompanied with some of the Members of the Lower House (having notice of it) came in upon them, and so perswaded with the rout, that for a time

a time they were content to suspend their purpose, until the further pleasure of the House were knowne. Master Martin only was displeased to be so put off; and, thinking that the right which he had acquired to the crowne of England was not to be deserted on such easie termes, sealed up the doors immediately as soone as the Members of each House were gone, as if whatever was within those doores did belong to him. One thing is very memorable in this brave exployt (such as was never yet attempted by the greatest rebells of whom our stories have made mention), which was, that when some of the rabble which attended Martin said plainely they would take out the crowne to crowne His Majesties youngest sonne the Duke of Glocester, Master Martin with great indignation told them, *they were a company of fooles to talke of having Crownes or Kings, of which there was to be so little use in the times to come.* And lest this should be thought in charity to be some desperate and bold attempt of Master Martyn's, and that the Commons House had no hand therein, it was signified by the same letters, that upon Saturday it was debated two long howres, and carried at the last by the major part, that the Regalia should be seized on, an inventory made of all things were found therein, and a Committee nominated to see it done (whereof Master Martyn in all reason must needs be one); under pretence

tence that there were many superstitious things exceeding fit to be removed, as no longer usefull. I doubt the King himselfe will be taken shortly to be some superstitious monument of decayed divinity, and so thought fit to be removed."

The year 1642 furnished a disagreeable instance of the custom of enlarging upon the advantages of one country and the depreciation of another. The old feuds, which had so many years existed between the English and Scotch, was revived on the 16th of March in Westminster Hall; where Captain Hothorne and a Captain Ogilvy had a dispute as to the merits of their respective claims on the gratitude of the state. The former observed, that the Scotch came to England to eat its provisions, receive pay, and do no kind of service—while the English fought bravely, and were in arrears. Ogilvy retorted with his cane: swords were drawn on both sides, and Ogilvy was severely cut on the head by Hothorne. The quarrel now became general between the natives of both countries then present, amounting nearly to an hundred. Fortunately for the parties, the watermen of the neighbouring stairs on the Thames interfered, and, at the risk of their lives, separated the enraged combatants.

We are indebted to Mrs. Lucy Hutchinson for sketches of two characters, who flourished in the reign of Charles I. which will contribute

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in aid of my plan. In the early part of this lady's husband's life he left his father's house, and resided in London. "In the mean time, the best company the town afforded him was a gentleman of as exquisite breeding and parts as England's court ever enjoyed; one that was now married, and retired into this town; one of such admirable power of language and persuasion as was not any where else to be found. But after all this, discontents, or the debaucheries of the times, had so infected him, that he would not only debauch himself, but make a delight to corrupt others for his sport. Some he would commend into such a vain-glorious humour, that they became pleasantly ridiculous; some he would teach apish postures, and make them believe themselves rare men; some he would encourage to be poets, and laugh at their ridiculous rhymes; some young preachers he would make stage-players in their pulpits; and several ways sported himself with the follies of most of the young men that he conversed with. There was not any way which he left unpractised upon Mr. H.; but when, with all his art and industry, he found he could not prevail, then he turned seriously to give him such excellent advice and instructions for living in the world as were not afterwards unuseful to him. There was, besides this gentleman, a young physician (Dr. Plum-tre) who was a good scholar, and had a great deal

of

of wit, but withal a professed atheist; and so proud, insolent, and scurrilous a fellow (daring to abuse all persons how much soever above him), that he was thrown out of familiarity with the great people of the country, though his excellency in his profession made him to be taken in again."

The same lady speaks of a strange, though perhaps not very uncommon character, who distinguished himself in villainy during the civil war, that rendered Colonel Hutchinson conspicuous as a partizan of the popular cause. Were I to adhere strictly to the spirit of the title of this work, the person alluded to ought not to be mentioned in it; but as the kingdom was in a state of miserable confusion, and no male was permitted to remain quietly at his home, it is possible the general commixture of manners was such, that a person who lived in Nottinghamshire might resemble a citizen of London in part of his conduct.

"In Nottinghamshire, upon the edge of Derbyshire, there dwelt a man who was of mean birth and low fortunes, yet had kept company with the underling gentry of his neighbourhood. This man had the most factious, ambitious, vainglorious, envious, and malicious nature that is imaginable; but he was the greatest dissembler, flatterer, traitor, and hypocrite, that ever was; and herein had a kind of wicked policy:—knowing

ing himself to be inferior to all gentlemen, he put on a vizard of godliness and humility, and courted the common people with all plausibility and flattery that could be practised—all this while he was addicted to many lusts (especially to that of women), but practised them so secretly, that they were not vulgarly taken notice of; though God, to shame him, gave him up to marry a wench out of one of the ale-houses he frequented. But to keep up a fame of godliness, he gave large contributions to Puritan preachers; who had the art to stop the people's mouths from speaking ill of their benefactors.

"By a thousand arts this fellow became popular, and insinuated himself so into all the gentlemen that owned the Parliament's party, that, till he was discovered some years after, they believed him a most true-hearted, faithful, vigilant, active man, for the godly interest. But he could never climb higher than a Presbyterian persecutor; and, in the end, fell quite off to a declared Cavalier. In Sir George Booth's business, thinking he could sway the scales of a country, he raised a troop, and brought them into Derby, and published a declaration of his own for the King; then ran away to Nottingham, and lost all his troop in the rout there, and hid himself till the King came in (Charles II.); when he was rewarded for his revolt with an office; which he enjoyed not many months—

his

his wife and he, and some of his children, dying altogether in a few days of a fever little less than the plague."

According to Mrs. Hutchinson, the littleness of some minds predominated, in the midst of the general profession of devotion to the public interest: for instance, she accuses Sir John Gell of starving Sir John Stanhope's cattle in a pound, for resisting the payment of the ship-money. After he had declared for the Parliament, he suffered a regiment he had raised to plunder friends and enemies without distinction; and he even carried his resentment to Sir John Stanhope beyond the grave, by defacing his monument, and ordering his men to dig up a garden of flowers belonging to his widow. "This man," she continues, "kept the diurnal-makers in pension; so that whatever was done in the neighbouring counties against the enemy was attributed to him." Indeed, this lady doth not hesitate to declare, that Mr. Hutchinson having once rebuked the writer in one of these vehicles of intelligence, for inserting an untruth of this description, the man offered to write as much for him upon being paid for his trouble.

In addition to the preceding instances of the dereliction of all pretensions to urbanity and honesty which civil war promoted and brought into action, we find that the junior Hotham replied to a committee, which offered to assign

quarters for his men, "that he was no stranger in any English ground;" and when those men plundered the inhabitants, and wasted the produce of the country, he answered the remonstrances of Colonel Hutchinson in the true spirit of licentiousness—"That he fought for liberty, and expected it in all things." Cromwell (who was then a colonel, and witnessed the altercation) took part with Hutchinson; and, having himself received some insults from Hotham, they together formed the resolution of reporting his conduct to Parliament; which they did so effectually, that Hotham was superseded.

"Those who knew the opinion Cromwell after had of Mr. Hutchinson," says his lady, "believed he registered this business in his mind as long as he lived, and made it his care to prevent him from being in any power or capacity to pursue him to the same punishment when he deserved it; but from that time, growing into more intimate acquaintance with him, he always used to profess the most hearty affections to him, and the greatest delight in his plainness and openheartedness that was imaginable."

During the siege of Nottingham castle (of which Colonel H. was governor for the Parliament) several wounded prisoners were brought in on a particular day; when a Captain Palmer "and another minister" amused themselves by walking up and down the castle-yard, "insulting and

and beating the poor prisoners" as they came in. "After our hurt men were dressed," says the good lady to whom we are indebted for these memoirs, as she stood (herself) at her chamber-door, seeing three of the prisoners sorely cut and carried down bleeding into the lion's den, she desired the marshal to bring them in to her, and bound up and dressed their wounds also; which while she was doing, Captain Palmer came in, and told her—His soul abhorred to see this favour to the enemies of God. She replied, she had done nothing but what she thought was her duty, in humanity to them as fellow-creatures, not as enemies. But he was very ill satisfied with her."

This spirit of rancour extended on all sides; and we are told of women following a female, of opposite principles, throwing scalding water at her. "Lastly," says Mrs. H. "the few good men were so easily blown up into causeless suspicions and jealousies; and there were so many malignant whispers daily spread abroad, of every one in office, that it was impossible for any man so worthily to demean himself, but that a jealous misconstruction of some inconsiderable trifle was enough to blast the esteem of all his actions, though never so pious and deserving."

I have now cited sufficient authorities for judging of the public character, as influenced by the immediate operation of hostile opinions on poli-

tics, and shall conclude this part of the subject by another quotation from Mrs. Hutchinson's Memoirs; which seems rather a sketch of modern times, than her own, in some particulars.

"Better laws," she observes, "and a happier constitution of government, no nation ever enjoyed; it being a mixture of monarchy, aristocracy, and democracy, with sufficient fences against the pest of every one of those forms — tyranny, faction, and confusion. Nor is it only valour and generosity (adds this lady) that renown this nation — in Arts we have advanced equal to our neighbours, and in those that are most excellent exceeded them. The world hath not yielded men more famous in Navigation, nor ships better built or furnished. Agriculture is as ingeniously practised; the English archery were the terror of Christendom, and their clothes the ornament. But these low things bounded not their great spirits: in all ages it hath yielded men as famous, in all kinds of learning, as Greece or Italy can boast of. And to complete the crown of all their glory, reflected from the lustre of their ingenuity, valour, wit, learning, justice, wealth, and bounty — their piety and devotion to God and his worship hath made them one of the most truly noble nations in the Christian world — God having, as it were, enclosed a people here, out of the vast common of the world, to serve him with a pure and undefiled worship."

It

It will be necessary, in the next place, to recur to the early part of this reign for a more minute illustration of manners and customs.

In the mode of eating, we find the division of daily meals thus noticed, in "The Life of Faith," a sermon, preached by Samuel Ward of Ipswich, and published in 1627. "Why should not thy soul have her due drinks, breakfasts, meals, under-meals, bevers, and after-meals, as well as thy body?"

The custom of chewing, smoking, and taking tobacco in the form of snuff, seems to have been nearly as common in the reign of Charles I. as at present; yet it was by no means generally approved of. "Tobacco, divine, rare, super-excellent tobacco (exclaims Burton), which goes far beyond all their panaceas, potable gold, and philosopher's stones—a sovereign remedy to all diseases!! A good vomit I confess—a virtuous herb, if it be well qualified, opportunely taken, and medicinally used; but as it is commonly abused by most men (which take it as tinkers do ale), 'tis a plague, a mischief, a violent purger of goods, lands, health—hellish, devilish, and damned tobacco—the ruin and overthrow of body and soul."

Of the domestic customs, with reference to animals, none more deserves commendation than the care and affection with which the Englishman repays the attachment and fidelity of his dog:

dog: thousands of distressed persons have shared their miserable meals with this description of grateful attendant; and the rich have been known to erect monuments to their memories. As these animals were inhabitants of England from time immemorial, the friendship of them and their masters commenced at the same unknown period. The only author I recollect to have censured this amiable intercourse is the fanatical Bunyan, who, in his "Sighs from Hell, or the Groans of a damned Soul," abuses Christians for giving to dogs the crumbs belonging to the poor. "How many pounds (he enquires) do some men spend a year on their dogs, while the poor saints of God may starve for hunger?" They will build houses for their dogs, when the saints must be glad to wander, and lodge in dens and caves of the earth.

"Again, some men cannot go half a mile from home, but they must have dogs at their heels; but they can very willingly go half a score miles without the society of a Christian." This wretched sinner, who envied the participation of dogs in the favours of the rich, did not seem to be aware that brutal and uncharitable persons seldom or ever keep dogs; or if they do, they are *kept in their places*, according to the vulgar acceptation of kindness. "Love me, love my dog," is an adage of great antiquity, and far more honourable to him who uses it, than all the sighs vented by Bunyan for every person's

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sins but his own. For my own part, I dwell with satisfaction upon the certainty that all domestic animals (the dog, the cat, the singing bird, &c. &c.) are cherished and have been cherished by their kind masters and mistresses before and since the Conquest. Nor is it less grateful to reflect, that thousands of instances have occurred of the rough attachment of men and horses, not only in the higher ranks, but between them and their drivers in the lowest; though it must be confessed, that too many of the domestic animals are most basely and cruelly treated; nor do I suppose the persons so acting would use Christians much better if they dared.

Ward, of Ipswich (who preached an assize sermon at Bury St. Edmunds, in 1627, alluded to above), boldly attacked his legal audience for the practice or custom of buying and selling offices. "O gall of bitterness! O root of all evil to Church and Commonwealth!—when authorities and officers of justice shall be bought and sold, as with a trumpet or drum, to the candle, or out-rope! The particular branches whereof when I seriously consider, I wonder not that Christ, with such zealous severity, brake down the banks, and whipped out the chapmen out of the temple; nor that Peter, with such fiery indignation, buried Simon and his money. For if such men and money perish not, kingdoms and churches must perish; and both civil and ecclesiastical

siastical courts will soon prove dens of thieves. Whose soul bleeds not to see men's souls bought and sold like sheep at the market to every butcher? Of this you lawyers much complain against the clergymen for buying of benefices: which you might do the more justly, if yourselves were not often the sellers of them! I would the fault rested only in benefices, and reached not into offices and civil dignities. Indeed that kind of purchase we call simony, it may from its other name be fitlier styled magick; for I know not what kind of witchcraft men sin by leave and law in these civil purchases. The laws and statutes provide for the remedy of the evil in some cases, tolerating it in others; and the practice, by means of this allowance, growing intolerable:—some of them (as the world reports) offices for life and at pleasure, amounting to the rate of lands and inheritances."

He afterwards tells his auditors, that the "strait buttoned carpet and effeminate gentry," acting as justices and judges, "cannot hold out a forenoon or afternoon sitting without a tobacco bait, or a game at bowls."

Reeve (whose Plea for Nineveh I have found an useful book in compiling these pages) gives a strong but probably too high-coloured a picture of the merchants and citizens of 1657. He tells them, "If thou beest for profit, thy ranges are known. After thou hast called up thy servants to

to hunt for gain at home, thou thyself (as one in full quest for lucre abroad) art visiting other men's storehouses, searching their warehouses, ransacking their cellars. Thou goest to the custom-house, to try what exporting and importing there hath been; thou repairest to the Exchange, to examine what merchant thou canst meet with, with whom thou may'st truck in minivers and tissues, musks and civits, the teeth of elephants, the bones of whales, the stones of bezars, the claws of crabs, the oyles of swallows, the skins of vipers; yea, be it but in black coal, black pitch, white chalk or white soap, rusty iron or abominable mummy, it will serve the turn. Or if thy merchandize fail there, thou turnest thy trading another way, to seek about for a licence or a patent; or, perhaps, to pry out some decayed heir or foundered gallant, that thy ferret might be sent forth into that borough, or thy setting-dog let loose to drive that covey; to hook-in some mortgage, or to prey upon some forfeiture. And if all these devices will not take place, then thou stirrest thy legs to go suck venom from a pettyfogger, or magick from some conjurer. And thus doth the drudge of the world spend his day.

"If thou beest for bravery, I cannot follow thee by the track, nor find out thy various motions. The gallant is counted a wild creature — no wild colt, wild ostrich, wild cat of the mountain,

tain, comparable to him; he is, indeed, the buffoon and baboon of the times; his mind is wholly set upon cuts and slashes, knots and roses, patchings and pinkings, jaggings, taggings, borderings, brimmings, half shirts, half arms, yawning breasts, gaping knees, arithmetical middles, geometrical sides, mathematical wastes, musical heels, and logical toes. I wonder he is not for the Indian's branded skin and ringed snout. His fantastic dotages are so many, that he hath a free-school bookish about inventions for him; nay, an academy of wits, studying deeply to devise fashions according to his humour: know ye not the multitude of students, artists, graduates, that are subliming their notions to please this one light head? then hear them by their names—perfumers, complexioners, feather-makers, stitchers, snippers, drawers; yea, who not? Yet amongst these doth the knighted spark spend out his time. This is the gallant's day.

"If thou beest for dainties, how art thou then for spread-tables and plenished flagons? Thou art but a pantry-worm, and a pastry-fly; thou art all for in-landish meat, and out-landish sauces; thou art the dapifer to thy palate, or the cupbearer to thy appetite; the creature of the swallow, or the slave of the weason. The land hath scarce flesh, the sea fish, or the air fowl, curious enough for thy licorous throat. By thy good will thou wouldst eat nothing but kids and fawns,

carps

carps and mullets, snipes and quails; and drink nothing but Fontiniac, white muscadines, leathick wine, and *vin de Pary*. Thy olios and hogoes, creepers and peepers, Italian sippets, and French broths, do shew what a bondman to the paunch thou art—even the idolater of the banqueting-house. Thy belly is thy God. Thus doth the glutton waste out his pilgrimage: this is the epicure's day.

"If thou beest for lust, what an itinerant art thou! Canst thou mark thy foot-prints, whither thy legs and thy eyes carry thee? Thou shouldst be looking upon her that was once the desire of thine eyes, and embracing her that was given into thy bosom, and paying wedlock rights to her that was the wife of thy covenant; but thou hast plucked out that eye that thou didst fix upon the face of thy first love; thou hast pulled back the hand which thou didst give in marriage, and cancelled the bond that thou didst seal with solemnity upon thy nuptial day; and thou art no longer for a chaste wife, but for strange flesh—even like a fed horse neighing after a new paramour: thou hast forsaken thine own threshold, and art laying wait at thy neighbour's door; thou hast left the bed undefiled, and art for a couch of dalliance; thy wife's breath is distasteful, her face is displeasing, and her company odious; and thou art now for amiable paragons, for nymphs of beauty; these

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are those whom thou didst court and compliment, hunt for, and haunt their society; to which thou dost stretch out thy chaunting tongue and grasping arms; to which thou dost engage thy swarthy heart and blacker soul. When thy wife can scarce have fragments, these shall have banquets; when thy wife can scarce have fair language, these shall have Dorian music; when thy wife can scarce have seemly raiment, these shall have veils and rails, cut-works and net-works, blue silk and purple, jaspers and sapphires; when the wife must drudge at home, these shall have dance abroad; when the wife must walk on foot, these shall be coached. The bride is cast off, and the bedfellow embraced: the spouse rejected, and the courtezan entertained. Howsoever the wife is tendered and respected, dieted and robed—sure I am these are fed and clad; then will run into debt-books, lay in jails, and oftentimes hang on gibbets, for these. And thus doth the voluptuous man measure out his time; trickle out his hours: this is the sensual man's day."

Mr. Reeve (who seems to have considered himself censor-general of his time), accuses the citizens of London of most abominable eating propensities, asking them whether their minds were not wholly intent upon banquets; and whether there can be a nation more guilty of fulness of bread or more riotous eaters of flesh? "We know

know where these helluoes dwell; we could call by name these slaves of the palate, which have mind neither of church nor state, but of their spread tables and delicious fare; which face all judgments with nourishing their hearts in pleasure, as in a day of slaughter; and will jeopard the loss of privileges and ordinances, rather than they will forbear from their belly cheer, to eat ashes like bread. It is not their daily bread and food convenient that will satisfy them, but they must have dainty bread and food sumptuous; they are such insatiable gormandisers, as if (with Matthew bishop of Cracovia) they would bury all their treasure in their guts."

Mr. R. declared, that if a true account could be obtained of the expences of the kingdom in inordinate eating, for one year, he believed it would exceed the income of the Spanish Indies. "What should I say? Their palates are their altars; their services are their sacrifices; their belly is their god; they are the black idolaters of the smoky, reeking, steaming kitchen; not Ninevites, I will warrant you, which consume themselves with fasting but Epicures, which would gnaw as long as their teeth can chew, and would die with meat in their mouths."

"To take a more serious review of our drinking: the Ninevites would not drink water; but we will drink, and the spring or conduit shall be

be none of our cellar; no, we must drink of the sweet; and it is well, if any thing be dulcy and meracious enough for us; it must not only take away thirst, but satisfy the taste; not only refrigerate, but inebriate. We are compassed about with the sea, and one would think there were an ocean within land; we are rid of our ravenous wolves, but when shall we of our riotous wombs? We seem to be steeped in liquors, or to be the dizzy island. We drink as if (like Philip) we were nothing but sponges to draw up moisture; or we had tunnels in our mouths, as it was said of Dyonisius the Athenian; or (with Camatherus Logotheta) we drink like oxen. It is pity there are no nets to catch these fishes, nor no harping-irons provided to dart into the bellies of these whales. Noah planted a vine, and the world was never since sober: we are the grape-suckers of the earth.

"The Moor is abstemious, the Spaniard sober; but we are the wit-foundered nation. There are many, like Claudius, which seldom go sober over their thresholds; they rise up from their meetings like wild beasts let loose from their dens; they triumph with Heraclides, not tohave a cup-peer; they would seem (as Theocritus Chius said of Diocles) to drink up the sea; they have never drunk enough till their cups fall out of their hands, as it happened to Alexander when he contended with Proteus who should have

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the last draught. To be strong to drink wine, is become a kind of chivalry; men waging battle at their full bowls, as in a pitched field; they which have drunk down most, are like them that have knocked down most. Timon gloried over Lacydes for this like a very conqueror; and Licinius (as a capital drunkard) would be styled no less than Achilles. Thus excess is excellency, riot reputation; yea, their glory is in their shame. How is our land, by these intemperate creatures, made an hog-sty! the brimming bowl, like Circe's cup, turning men into swine. Yea, how is this glorious nation made a Bedlam, or a nest of furies! For, in their distempered humours, what distracted and frantic parts do they act! Like the youth of Agrigentum, they cast tables and stools out at the windows; and, like Michael Balbus, they are ready to cut off ears and noses; and to slay children in their parents' arms, as Lucius served Micca the daughter of Phidelinus.

"Oh! that this mad crew should not be kept close; that these wild beasts should be suffered to range the streets; that we have houses of correction for lazy persons, and no bridewells for these spendthrifts; chains for runagates, and no fetters for these Hectors; that these common bowsers and daily drunkards, which make it an art and habit to quaff and carouse, though in their fuming fits they care not to scandal the innocent,

innocent, to assault the peaceable, to violate the chaste, to reproach religion, to brave upon authority, to revile their parents, to rend the heavens, and damn their own souls; yet if they can shew but a coat of arms, and call a squire their father, no bench of justice will touch them; as if drunkenness were a kind of generous quality, or progeny were a dispensation to riot.

"And would to God that this were but only a masculine sin; but it hath spread itself into both sexes: neither the bashfulness nor modesty of women can restrain them from participating in the guilt. If the breaths of women were tried, as Cato the censor commanded they should be in Rome, I doubt the criminal smell would be found to proceed from too many of them. Domitius deprived a woman of her dowry, because she was proved culpable of this trespass; and a matron was adjudged to be starved, because she did but open a box where were the keys of a wine cellar; and Fatua Fanna was whipped to death with myrtle rods, because she drank wine out of a bottle secretly. Oh, if such heavy sentences were pronounced and executed in these days, what should become of many women? For is not this a feminine vice? Yes; Martial need not write of his drunken Fescennia, nor Ausonius of his Merce, nor Ælian of his Cleio; for we, amongst ourselves, may find a multitude of these intemperate, sottish women, which will quaff with

with the most riotous, and give pledge for pledge, and take off cup for cup. Oh, blemish of the nation, and affrightment to the very heavens!"

"As the English (says Chamberlayne in his Angliæ Notitia), returning from the wars in the Holy Land, brought home the foul disease of leprosy, now almost extinct here, though not yet in our neighbouring countries: so, in our fathers' days, the English, returning from the service in the Netherlands, brought with them the foul vice of drunkenness; as, besides other testimonies, the term of *carous*, from *gar aus*, *all-out*, learnt of the High Dutch there in the same service; so *quaff*, &c. This vice of late was more; though at present so much, that some persons, and those of quality, may not safely be visited in an afternoon, without running the hazard of excessive drinking of healths (whereby, in a short time, twice as much liquor is consumed as by the Dutch, who sip and prate); and, in some places, it is esteemed a piece of wit to make a man drunk; for which purpose, some swilling, insipid, trencher buffoon is always at hand. However, it may be truly affirmed, that at present there is generally less excess in drinking (especially about London) since the use of coffee."

The inhuman passions of mankind, ever in action, and stimulated by the selfish principle which prompts the weak and the wicked to grasp

at every object within their reach calculated in appearance to promote their interest, seem to have existed in full vigour when Mr. Reeve composed "God's Plea for Nineveh;" who, in the quaint manner of his age, introduces them to our notice in the following words: "For all the noise of our sermon bells, and the mysteries of the kingdom of heaven preached amongst us, here is nothing but shaving and fleecing, pinching and biting, catching and crushing, supplanting and circumventing, consuming and confounding, decocting and despoiling, slaying and flaying, prosecuting and persecuting, mingling and powdering, glozing and varnishing, sophisticating and adulterating, lengthening out of suits and spinning out of quarrels, siding and shouldering, trampling and shivering, dreadful decrees in the court of conscience, and horrid orders (divers times) in the best court of judicature; as if oppression were a science, and tyranny a trade. It would perplex a man to think how many writs are filed, how many records are entered, how many bills are preferred, how many judgments and executions are passed, how many regiments there are of serjeants and bailiffs, how many brigades of attorneys and counsellors, in this one little kingdom.

"If violence were not predominant, what need there be called in so many necessary agents to restrain it? If the house were not ruinous, what

what need there so many master-workmen be employed to repair it? These are fangs enough of oppression: but come forth, and I will shew thee more abominations. How many are there that seek places to suck the veins of the people? How many buy offices to shark upon the commonwealth? How many turn informers, promoters, waiters, searchers, not to discover, but to distill; not to punish, but to prey upon errors!"

The character of Charles II. was compounded of very different materials from those of most men. Adversity, which is generally acknowledged to be the best monitor in the government of life, seems to have had little effect upon him; unless we admit the probability that he might have acted with still greater impropriety, had not Boscobel-house and the Royal Oak sometimes reminded him of his almost miraculous steps to the throne of his ancestors. It is said by his enemies, that he had an unaccountable partiality, in his very early age, for a billet of wood; which he was in the habit of carrying in his arms during the day, and sleeping with at night. It is admitted by all parties, that he gave the Scotch great offence by his unprincipled behaviour after they had administered the covenant to him, and accepted him for their king. Douglas, one of the committee of Ministers, was commissioned to reprove him for certain liberties taken with a female; and he did it in a way highly credit-

able to his character, by advising the Monarch to take care in future that the windows were closed; particularly as it had been observed, that Charles treated the frequent sermons he was compelled to hear with something strongly resembling contempt.

The secret history of this sovereign, published in 1690, charges him with a dissimulation equal to that of Richard III. who exhibited himself to the view of the Citizens of London between two Churchmen, before he usurped the crown. Thus Charles, when at Breda, received a deputation of the Dissenting Ministers from London, conducted by Mr. Case, whose ears were saluted with a "sound of groaning piety. Such was the curiosity of Mr. Case, that he would needs go and lay his ear to the closet-door. But, heavens! how was the good old man ravished to hear the pious ejaculations that fell from the King's lips. After which, the King coming out of his closet, the deluded Ministers were ready to prostrate themselves at his feet."

After his Restoration, these Ministers experienced severely enough they were deceived; and the publick at large saw with regret the licentious conduct of the man they had hoped would exceed all other kings in an exemplary life. When his folly, in wandering abroad at all hours with the most dissolute characters of the age, is added to his ingratitude, and the neglect of

of affairs of state for dalliance with his numerous mistresses, it is surprising that a new revolution was deferred to the short reign of his brother: but his answer to the duke of York, on his observing that he exposed himself with too little caution to his secret enemies, that they knew who was to be his successor, serves as a complete excuse for the general tranquillity of the kingdom. Those who admire wit and good humour though connected with great vices, and can smile at a jest founded on the exercise of sound morality, may say Charles II. was one of the most engaging and amiable of men; may declare their approbation of his tempered raillery and satire, which never severely wounded the person to whom it was addressed; and that all his subjects felt their own consequence in his presence. Yet, though he might, in indulging his own propensities, appear a civil kind husband, an easy master, and a generous father, his character cannot be absolved from that censure, which profligacy excites in private life, and imperiously demands in public.

Aurelian Cook says of Charles, that, "to give him his just and deserved praise, he would not be paralleled in antient, and remain a wonder to all succeeding generations." And the same author, speaking of the mission of the Ministers before-mentioned, gives a very different turn to the cause of the ejaculations overheard by Mr.

Mr. Case. "He did not, like most princes, make religion an artifice of state only, but accounted it the glory and comfort of his life. His soul in his private devotion soared so high, that he seemed to be wholly swallowed up with the contemplation of the holiness and majesty of the God whom he adored; and with whom he would plead in prayer so earnestly, and with such affection, as though he were resolved to take no denial. And one of the Presbyterian Ministers who attended the Commissioners sent over by the Parliament at Breda, passing accidentally by when he was private in his closet, he was so astonished at the ardency and zeal wherewith he offered up his sacrifices of prayer and praises to Almighty God, that he suddenly clapped his hand upon his heart, and, with a kind of emotion of spirit, cried out to those that were with him, 'We are not worthy of such a king'."

Political events had, by the memorable year 1660, prepared the way for an almost total change in the manners and customs not only of London, but of the whole nation: the measured step, the demure countenance, the features which rarely exhibited any other than religious emotions (even when the sword hovered over each head), were exploded; and the majority now marched with courtly pride, and exhibited an outline, from head to foot, as nearly similar to that of the gay Monarch restored to the throne as [illegible]

alty could compose upon so sudden an emergency. Those who witnessed the change alluded to, must be allowed permission to inform the publick once more of the astonishing effects of the Restoration, as it operated in a general way.

"They are hastning the preparations for his Majesties reception into the City," says the Mercurius Publicus of May 24, 1660, "which will be as magnificent as possibly the time will admit. The Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and chief officers, with choice citizens of all the Companies, to the number of about six hundred, all go out on horseback, habited in velvet, and other costly apparel, with chains of gold, footmen in rich liveries, &c. The streets, from the bridge to Temple-bar, to be guarded, on the one side, by all the forces of the Trained Bands; on the other side, by the liveries of the Companies: the houses, all the way towards the streets, to be covered with tapestry, and other hangings, &c.

"Divers maidens, in behalf of themselves and others, presented a petition to the Right Honourable the Lord Mayor; wherein they pray his lordship to grant them liberty to meet his Majesty, on the day of his passage through the city, clad in white waistcoats, and other ornaments of triumph."

"At a Common Council this afternoon was read a letter to them from the City Commissioners with his Majesty, giving an account of their

their royal reception, and of his Majesties gracious resentment of this and other their services, expressing their abundant satisfaction in his Majesties gracious disposition, and Christian princely virtues, wherein they find him so eminent, that the nation is like to be more than ordinarily happy in his restitution."

"On Wednesday, his sacred Majesty, the queen of Bohemia, the princess royal, the most illustrious the duke of York, and duke of Glocester, and prince of Orange, went aboard General Montague, in the good ship formerly named the Naisby, but now christned by his Majesty the Royal Charles; where, after a repast, the queen of Bohemia, the princess royal, and prince of Orange, having taken leave of his Majesty, they set sail for England; his Majesty in the Royal Charles, the duke of York in the London, and the duke of Glocester in the James, formerly called the Swiftsure; the Speaker was likewise new christned the Princess Mary.

"On Friday, about three of the clock in the morning, they were in sight of Dover, when upon an express was sent to the general, then at Canterbury, to hast to Dover, which he did accordingly, and about one of the clock came thither. His Majesty landed about three in the afternoon, at the beech, near the peer of Dover, with the duke of York, duke of Glocester, and many of his nobles. Now did all put themselves into

into a posture for to observe the meeting of the best of kings, and most deserving of subjects: the admirers of majesty were jealous on the king's behalf of too low a condescention, and the lovers of duty fearful on the other side of an ostentation of merit; but such an humble prostration was made by his Excellency kneeling, and so fitting a reception by his Majesty kissing, and imbracing him, that all parties were satisfied, and the general now taught, by the sight of his soveraign, to make a perfect mixture of Hephæstion with Craterus; so that what hath hitherto been done out of bounden duty to his liege lord, will hereafter be continued out of loyal affection to his gracious master. His Majesty walk'd up with the general, a canopy being carried over his head, and a chair of state by him, towards his coach. In his passage, the Mayor and Aldermen of Dover, with Mr. Redding the minister, met his Majesty, and, after a short speech, Mr. Redding presented his Majesty with a large Bible, with gold clasps. His Majesty went to his coach; then the duke of York, who sate at one end of the coach, the duke of Glocester and his Excellency at the other end, and the duke of Buckingham in the boot; after them, several coaches with six horses, and several on horseback. About two miles beyond Dover his Majesty took horse, and the dukes on the right hand of the King, and the General on the left bare, after whom followed the

duke

duke of Buckingham, and several of the nobility and gentry bare, to Canterbury, where his Majesty met the Mayor, Aldermen, and Mr. Recorder Love, who, after a speech made to his Majesty, presented him with a gold tankerd, and so conducted him to the palace, where he remains till Monday, and then intends to set forward on his journey, to be on Tuesday at London. Mr. Morris is knighted, and made secretary of state; Dr. Reynolds, and M. Calamy, chaplains.

"His Majesty put the George on his excellency the lord-general Monck; and the duke of York, and duke of Glocester, put on the Garter; all these three royal princes joyning unanimously together to honour him."

"On Monday, the 20 of May, his Majesty came into Rochester, about five of the clock in the afternoon, and went immediately to colonel Gibbon his house, where his Majesty, the dukes of York and Glocester, lodged. After his Majesty had in his chamber eat something to refresh himself, he went to Chatham to see the Royal Soveraign, and the rest of his ships, where he gave Commissioner Pett so much honor as to receive the entertainment of a banquet from him; thence he returned to Rochester, and about eight of the clock supped: so shewing himself very courteous and gracious to the Colonel, who presented to his Majesty a very dutiful address, signed by himself and all the officers of his regiment,

ment, in behalf of themselves and the soldiers in it, which his Majesty received very graciously, and by many expressions to the Colonel, gave a testimony of his affection to him in particular, and to all the army in general of which his lodging with his royal brothers in his house was not the least demonstration. The next morning, Mr. Francis Clerk, and Mr. William Swan, both gentlemen of that county, received the honor of knighthood from his Majesty. The Mayor and Corporation of the city presented his Majesty with a bason and ewer of silver gilt, of a good value, which was well received. His Majesty took his journey from Rochester, betwixt four and five in the morning, the militia forces of Kent lining the waies, and maidens strewing herbs and flowers, and the several towns hanging out white sheets."

"At Blackheath the army was drawn up, where his Majesty viewed them, giving out many expressions of his gracious favor to the army, which were received by loud shootings and [illegible]ioicings; several bonfires were made as his Majesty came along, and one more remarkable than the rest for its bigness, where the States arms were burned.

"Thence the army being placed according to his Excellencies order, his Majesty marched towards London: and now because God himself, when he would set a mark of observance upon his

his own magnalia, hath taken notice of the circumstance of time, it is very considerable here that it was his Majesties birth-day. He was heir-apparent when first born, but had *jus in re* now when entring the metropolis of his kingdom, he took possession. All lets and hinderances, which have interven'd since his Majesties just right, are now so many arguments of his future fix'd and peaceable enjoyment. This the ancients intimate, when they tell us, Jupiter himself was not quiet in heaven till after a long war with the giants; may that God, by whom kings reign, long preserve him and the nation, a mutual blessing to each other!

"When his Majesty came to St. George's field, the Lord Mayor and the Aldermen were in a tent ready to receive him: there the Lord Mayor delivered unto his Majesty his sword upon his knees, which his Majesty gave back to him. After a repast taken there, his Majesty came to Whitehall in this manner: all the streets [illegible] richly hang'd with tapestry, and a lane made by the militia forces to London-bridge, from London-bridge to Temple-bar by the trained bands on one side, and the several companies in their liveries and the streamers of each company, on the other side, by the rails; from Temple-bar to Westminster by the militia forces, regiments of the army, and several gentlemen, formerly officers of the king's army, led by sir John Stawell; first marched a troop

troop of gentlemen, led by major-general Brown, brandishing their swords, in clothes of silver doublet, in all about 300, besides their servants; then another troop, of about 200, in velvet coats, the footmen and liveries in purple: then another troop, led by alderman Robinson, with buff coats, silver sleeves, and green scarfs; after this, a troop with blue liveries, and silver lace, colors red, fringed with silver, about 130; after that, a troop, 6 trumpets, 7 footmen in sea-green and silver, their colors pinck, fringed with silver; then a troop, with their liveries gray and blew, with silk and silver laces, 30 footmen, 4 trumpets, consisting of about 220, their colors sky, fringed with silver; another of gray liveries, 6 trumpets, colors sky and silver, of about 105 gentlemen; another troop of 70 gentlemen, 5 trumpets, colors sky and silver; another troop, led by the lord Clevland, of about 200 noblemen and gentlemen, colours blew, fringed with gold; another troop of about 100, black colors, fringed with gold; another troop of about 300.

After these came two trumpets, with his Majesties arms, the sheriffs men in red cloaks and silver lace, with half pikes, 79 in number; then followed the several companies of London, with their several streamers, all in black velvet coats with gold chains, every company having their footmen of their several liveries, some red and white, some pinck and white, some blew

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and yellow, &c.; three trumpets in liveries richly laced, and cloth of silver sleeves, went before the company of the Mercers. After all these, came a kettle-drum, five trumpets, and three streamers, and very rich red liveries, with silver lace. The number of the citizens were about 600. After these, 12 ministers, another kettle-drum, four trumpets, then his Majesties life-guard, led by the lord Gerrard; another party, led by sir Gilbert Gerrard, and major Rosecarron, and the third division by colonel Pragues; then three trumpeters in rich coats and satin doublets; the city marshal, with 8 footmen, in French green, trimmed with crimson and white; the city waits, the city officers in order, Dr. Warmstry, the 2 Sheriffs, and all the Aldermen of London, in their scarlet gowns, and rich trappings, with footmen in liveries, red coats, laced with silver, and cloth of gold; the heralds and maces in their rich coats; the Lord Mayor, bare, carrying the sword; his Excellency and the duke of Buckingham bare; and then, the glory of all, his sacred Majesty rode between the dukes of York and Gloucester; afterwards followed a troop bare, with white colours, then the general's life-guard; after which, another company of gentry, sky, fringed with gold; after which, five regiments of the army horse, led by colonel Knight, viz. his Excellencies regiment, colonel Knight's, colonel Cloberrie's, lord Fauconberg's, lord

lord Howard's; after whom, came two troops of nobility and gentlemen, red colors, fringed with gold. There was never such a sight of noblemen and gentlemen that marched then, brandishing their swords all along. Soon after his Majesty was passed, all the musquetiers that lined the streets gave many vollies of shot.

"Thus was his Majesty conducted to his royal palace at Whitehall; where after the lord mayor had took his leave, his Majesty went to the Lords, where was a speech made to his Majesty, and another in the Banqueting-house by the Speaker of the House of Commons, which is printed at large by the printers of the said house: which done, his Majesty retired himself, and supped with the two dukes in the Chast chamber. This day his Majesty dined in the Presence chamber.

"The solemnity of this day was concluded by an infinite number of bonfires; it being observable, that, as if all the houses had turned out their chimnies into the streets (the weather being very warm) there were almost as many fires in the streets, as houses, throughout London and Westminster; and among the rest in Westminster, a very costly one was made, where the effigies of the old Oliver Cromwell was set up upon a high post, with the arms of the Commonwealth; which having been exposed there a while to the public view, with torches lighted, that every

every one might take better notice of them, were burnt together.

"The foreign ambassadors and public ministers here did likewise highly express their joy for his Majesties happy arrival here on Tuesday last, by their bonfires and other public demonstrations; specially the ambassadors of France and Portugal, and the plenipotentiaries of the king of Sweden; in particular, his plenipotentiary lying at Charing-cross, besides his bonfires, giving of wine and throwing of money among the people, made very gallant emblems upon the business of the day."

We are informed, from several parts of the Life of William duke of Newcastle, written by his lady, that excellence in horsemanship was considered a necessary accomplishment in his time, and that the Duke carried this partiality for the exercise to such an excess, as to lavish the limited means he possessed on horses, at the time his loyalty to Charles II. would have starved him and his consort, had not the people of Antwerp been very liberal and charitable. The Duchess says, "Not only strangers, but his Majesty himself (our now gracious sovereign), was pleased to see my lord ride, and one time did ride himself, he being an excellent master of that art, and instructed by my lord, who had the honour to set him first on a horse of mannage, when he was his governor: where his Majesty's capacity

capacity was such, that being but ten years of age, he would ride leaping horses, and such as would overthrow others, and manage them with the greatest skill and dexterity, to the admiration of all that beheld him."

It may be a farther illustration of the characters of the Prince and his governor to add, that, wretched as the situation of both was, the Duke contrived to entertain his pupil at dinner, when the King observed, after paying his compliments to the Duchess, "That he perceived my lord's credit could procure *better meat than his own.*" Sir Charles Cavendish often said, "That though he could not truly complain of want, yet his meat never did him good, by reason, my lord his brother was always so near wanting, that he was never sure after one meal to have another;" and he thus proved his frequent assertion, "that he would willingly sacrifice himself, and all his posterity, for the sake of his Majesty and the royal race." Indeed the loss he sustained was immense, and amounted to £403,083, without including interest, which added, made it £733,579, besides enduring sixteen years' banishment. According to the Duchess, he raised "above 100,000 men, and those most upon his own interest, in support of the royal cause; his white coats, 'whereof many were bred in the moorish grounds of the Northern parts,' never gave over whensoever they were engaged in action,

tion, until they had either conquered the enemy or lost their lives." The term *white coats* was derived from the circumstance of the Duke's having been compelled to use that colour for their clothing instead of red, through a scarcity of the latter; but upon his proposing to have it dyed, the soldiers begged it might not, promising they would perform that operation with their enemies' blood.

This lady says of her lord, "In his diet he is so sparing and temperate, that he never eats nor drinks beyond his set proportion, so as to satisfy only his natural appetite;—he makes but one meal a day, at which he drinks two good glasses of small beer, one about the beginning, the other at the end thereof, and a little glass of sack in the middle of his dinner; which glass of sack he also uses in the morning for his breakfast, with a morsel of bread;—his supper consists of an egg, and a draught of small beer: and by this temperance he finds himself very healthful, and may yet live many years, he being now of the age of seventy-three, which I pray God from my soul to grant him."

We have every reason to believe, that the ensuing notice describes the acts of four-fifths of those British merchants who have the misfortune to be unsuccessful in trade: I therefore give it, not as a solitary instance of uncommon honour, but as one which, from the nature of the case, is seldom publicly known through motives of delicacy:

delicacy: "Whereas Jeremiah Snow, late of Lombard-street, goldsmith, now living in Broad-street, did owe divers persons, anno 1652, £8,300; who, at his desire, did accept of £6,225 in full, and gave him discharges absolute (which was occasioned by the failing of two French merchants, who were at that time indebted to him £3,400, but never paid him a fifth part, as by the testimonials remaining with the public notary it may appear); since which time, it hath pleased God to bless his endeavours with some small estate: He, therefore, in gratitude and justice, invites them to receive the full remainder of their principal money, excepting such as by his oath he shall affirm to have paid in part or in whole. And he declares this publication is not for vain-glory (retribution in this kind being indispensable), nor to get more credit; but because his friends have judged it conveniently necessary, that his vindication might be as public as then was the scandal." *London Gazette*, 1667.

Such were Jeremiah Snow's ideas of honour. Another description of honour is not to be satisfied without the loss of life, limbs, or health: the duellist of 1667 may be balanced against the trader of the same year in the scale of morality, and the advertisement of Snow against the declaration of Charles II. in the Gazette of Feb. 24, without risk to the former. "This day, his

Majesty was pleased to declare at the board, that whereas in contemplation of the eminent services heretofore done to his Majesty by most of those persons who were engaged in the late duel or rencontre, wherein William Jenkins was killed,—he doth graciously pardon the said offence; nevertheless, he is resolved from henceforth, that upon no pretence whatsoever, any pardon shall be hereafter granted to any person whatsoever for killing of any man, in any duel or rencontre, but that the course of law shall wholly take place in all such cases; and his Majesty was pleased to command, that this his solemn declaration should be entered in the council book, and that public notice of it be likewise hereby given, that no person may for the future pretend ignorance thereof."

One of the methods adopted by the monarch after his restoration to reward those loyal and necessitous officers who resided within the bills of mortality, and had served Charles I. and himself with fidelity, in the most discouraging periods of the interregnum, was the granting them one or more Plate lotteries, by which is to be understood a gift of plate from the crown, and permission to sell tickets: the former to serve as the prizes. In the month of April 1669, Charles II., the duke of York, and many of the nobility, were present, says the Gazette, "at the grand Plate lottery, which, by his Majesty's command, was then

then opened at the sign of the Mermaid, over against the Mews." This was the origin of the endless schemes to be noticed hereafter under the titles of Royal Oak, Twelve-penny lotteries, &c.; but their introduction will be still farther illustrated by an intimation published soon after in these words: "This is to give notice, that any persons who are desirous to farm any of the counties within the kingdom of England or dominion of Wales, in order to the setting up of a Plate lottery, or any other lottery whatsoever, may repair to the Lottery-office, at Mr. Philips's house, in Mermaid-court, over against the Mews, where they may contract with the trustees commissioned by his Majesty's letters patent for the management of the said patent, on the behalf of the truly loyal indigent officers."

If extreme villainy and undaunted courage in the breasts of a few individuals of a community form a portion of general manners in the indulgence of depraved passions, it would be inexcusable to omit Blood's attempt to steal the crown of England. Viewing it as a most extraordinary event, I shall present it to the reader from the most authentic source, the London Gazette:

"*Whitehall, May* 9, 1671. This morning, about seven of the clock, four men coming to Mr. Edwards, keeper of the jewel-house in the Tower, desired to see the regal crown remaining in his custody;

custody; he carries them into the room where they were kept, and shows them; but according to the villanous design they, it seems, came upon, immediately they clap a gag of a strange form into the old man's mouth; who making what noise and resistance he could, they stabbed him a deep wound in the belly with a stiletto, adding several other dangerous wounds on the head with a small beetle they had with them, as is believed, to beat together and flatten the crown, to make it the more easily portable; which having, together with the ball, put into bags they had to that purpose brought with them, they fairly walked out, leaving the old man groaveling on the ground, gagged and pinnioned; thus they passed by all the sentinels, till, in the mean time, the son-in-law of Mr. Edwards, casually passing by, and hearing the door shut, and some bustle, went in to look what it might be, where he found his old father in the miserable condition they had left him; whereupon running out in all haste and crying to stop the authors of this horrid villany, the persons began to hasten more than ordinary; which the last sentinel perceiving, and hearing the noise, bid them stand; but, instead of standing to give an account of themselves, one of them fires a pistol at the sentinel, and he his musket at them; which gave the alarm so as, with the pursuit of Mr. Edward's son-in-law, two of the malefactors were immediately seised; two more, with another

another that held their horses without the Tower gate, escaped: with the two that were taken were found the crown and ball, only some few stones missing, which had been loosened in the beating the crown, together with the mallet or beetle spoken of.

"These two being brought down to Whitehall, by his Majesties command, one of them proves to be Blood, that notorious traytor and incendiary, who was outlawed for the rebellion in Ireland, eight years ago; and the other was one Perrot, a dyer in Thames Street. Within two hours after, a third was apprehended, as he was escaping on horseback, who proves to be Thomas Hunt, mentioned in his Majesties proclamation for the discovering of the persons who some time since committed that horrid attempt upon his grace the Duke of Ormond, but is indeed son to the said Blood; who, with great impudency, confesses that they two were, with seven others, in that action. They are all three sent close prisoners to the Tower for the present."

"Proteus Redivivus, the Art of Wheedling," a little work written in the reign of Charles II., describes, amongst other characters, the genteel *Town-shift*; a term apparently derived from the habit those persons had of frequently changing their quarters to promote their designs, who were also called Wheedles, Bullies, Huffs, Rooks, Pads, Pimpinios, Guarde Lupanie, Philo-Puttonisis,

tonists, Ruffins, Shabbaroons, and Subtlers. It is said by the author, that the persons under consideration were generally younger sons of good and opulent families, "whom their fathers dealt withal as Pharaoh with the children of Israel, that expected they should make brick, and gave them no straw: so he makes him live at home as a gentleman, and leaves him nothing to maintain it. He hates, with the Irishmen, that his son should be a tradesman, for fear of murdering his gentility; and yet never thinks that, after his decease, the gentleman must be converted into a serving-man; and it is well if it be no worse: so that the pride of his house hath undone him."

By some means or other the Town-shift was accustomed to make his way into France, whence he returned, plentifully provided with à-la-mode shrugs, cringes, and ridiculously antic fashions, and profiting by observation on men and manners, collected by making every public place his exchange, he found himself capable of undertaking the full exercise of his profession—one object of which was the procuring of changes of dress, by application to the different members of his family under various pretences; or to some vain and rich female, through the medium of a copy of verses that would have been laid at her feet in person, had not the parsimony of his family, or the inconveniences of recent travelling, made his garb unfit for inspection. If this failed, the last resort

was

was to the unconscionable taylor, who, favouring the application through charitable motives, made him a suit for twenty pounds, which ready money would have procured for seven.

Thus equipped, he wheedled himself into the society of men celebrated for dignities, learning, and fortune, where he was the more welcome, as no exceptions could be taken to his connections, and he was careful to exert his talents in conversation and pliability. "In all his actions," says our authority, "he is so careful, whether walking, standing, eating, or sitting, to clothe them with such a mean and grace, as may evince, that he not only reverenceth his superiors, but adores them." Equal skill appeared in his connection with the fair sex: assiduity, and the art of pleasing, according to the bias of the party to be won, distinguished him. Thus, at length, he was enabled either to obtain employment, a rich heiress or widow, or at the least to live well at the expence of his patrons.

Another character existed under the title of *Town-gallant*, who differed from the genteel Town-shift in many particulars: the gallant had plenty of money, and might be of a respectable, if not a noble descent; but the qualifications mentioned were not those by which he wished to be distinguished — vanity, folly, debauchery, and profaneness, were the vices courted by this "silly *huffing thing*, who, in truth, appears to have had little

little else than 'pop and bounce' in his composition. To trace him *ab origine*—his breeding was under the wings of a too indulgent mother, who took a world of pains to make him a fool, and attained her end at *the age of discretion*; being at this sage period of life a mere bundle of vanity, or a kind of walking exchange, composed of various new and ridiculous fashions; he might be estimated with the greatest accuracy by the value of his clothes." The grand object of his life was making love; and such appeared, from his own account, to be his success in this way, that when a virgin of thirteen was mentioned, he boldly swore miracles had not ceased. An invective uttered against that inconsiderable animal, called a husband, gave him infinite delight, because it contributed to support his utter aversion to matrimony.

The great aim of the Town-gallant was to excite surprise by the eccentricity of his new oaths, invented on every occurrence of his life. Each of his acts he declared to be that of a gentleman; and, to create respect, he bestowed feigned honours on his humble companions, who, in return, gave him the title of a man of blood; he was saucy with his superiors, and blustered "*like the four cardinal winds* in painting; but if you begin to be as high as he, strait the bubble breaks, and then, with an ill-shaped fawning cringe, he swears—I, good sir, I ever honoured you;

you; but you are a passionate gentleman, and will not understand a jest. He placeth his very essence in his outside, and his only prayers are, that his father may go to the devil expeditiously, and his estate hold out to keep his miss and himself in good equipage."

"Till noon he lies a-bed to digest his over-night's debauchery, and having dressed himself, he first trails along the street, observing who observes him, and from his up-rising, gets just time enough to the French ordinary to sup le pottage, eat beuf à la mode, and drink briskly of Burgundy. After this, a coach is called for, to rattle his more rattle head to the play-house, where he advances into the middle of the pit, struts about a while to render his good parts more conspicuous, *pulls out his comb*, curries his wig, hums the orange-wench to give her her own unreasonable rates for a little fruit; alas, how can she live else, *giving at least forty pound per annum* for liberty *to tread and foul those seats* the silken petticoats and gaudy pantaloons do sit on. Immediately presenting the best moiety of his purchase to the next vizor mask, he resigned himself to sleep, but roused suddenly by the petulant pinch of some neighbouring wench, he suddenly proclaims his pretensions to wit and criticism, by loudly damning the play, with a most tragical face. A disturbance in the streets towards morning, caused by the gallant and his associates when issuing from a house

of

of ill fame, serves to draw the attention of the *aged* watchmen, whose lanterns broken upon their heads, serves as a signal for demolishing windows, and exciting the terrors of sleeping females and children, whose cries, united with the thunder of their execrations, fill the neighbourhood with horror." To conclude the character of this description of wretches, the author declares they professed themselves atheists, both in word and deed — smiling at the name of the devil, bursting with laughter when they heard of spirits and apparitions, and maintaining with oaths that there were no other angels than those in petticoats, denying any essential difference between good and evil, and deeming conscience a check suited merely to frighten children.

The manners of the itinerant Quack of those days are accurately described by this writer, particularly their operations on stages in public places, which were exactly similar to such as may have been seen by the reader on Tower-hill and in Moorfields, before those places were converted to their present uses. One of their more private artifices was that of imposing themselves on the ignorant as persons of learned education, through the medium of scraps of Latin, and procuring authors to write for them cases, without other origin than the composer's brain, and prefixing to them an engraving of their portraits, generally adorned with the doctor's gown and cap; those

those they distributed liberally, and the effect corresponded with their wishes. "I have heard some mountebanks, in a rhodomontado humour, swear," says our author, "he deserves not to practise physic that cannot at any time plentifully supply his necessities with money gotten out of a brickbat pulverised; so it is generally known how a heel-maker, arrived to an estate of many thousands, by selling barley-water, with a few drops of spirits of salt in it. It is strange that persons should suffer their purses to be emptied, and their bodies anatomised by an huddle of such wheedling empirics as the hatband-maker once of Moorfields, the gunsmith in Barbican, and that old doating piece of nonsense in Southwark."

The custom of coining copper and base metal tokens, bearing the devices of the tradesmen who issued them, which were intended as substitutes for money during the interregnum, was extended into the reign of Charles II., when no scarcity of coin existed. The King issued a proclamation in 1672 to suppress this pernicious practice, which states that several persons had presumed to cause certain pieces of brass, copper, and other base metal, to be stamped with their private stamps, which they imposed upon poor people for pence, halfpence, or farthings, having at the same time bought in and hoarded up the small silver coins, to produce an artificial scarcity. To remedy this evil, the King commanded a large coinage of copper

copper money, and directed that it should be exclusively used in all payments under sixpence; at the same time forbidding the stamping of tokens; which were in a great measure discontinued, till after the American war, when they again made their appearance, and were very common till the close of the last century.

It is scarcely necessary to remind the reader of a well-known fact, that all sublunary things are subject to change:—he who passes through the Little Turnstile, Holborn, at present, will observe on the left hand, near Lincoln's Inn fields, a narrow street, composed of small buildings, on the corner of which is inscribed Whetstone Park. The repose and quiet of the place seem to proclaim strong pretensions to regular and moral life in the inhabitants, and well would it have been for the happiness of many a family, had the site always exhibited the same appearance; on the contrary, Whetstone's Park contributed to increase the dissoluteness of manners which distinguished the period between 1660 and 1709; being a place of low entertainment, numerous disturbances occurred there, and rendered it subject to the satire and reprehension even of Poor Robin's Intelligence, a paper almost infamous enough for the production of a keeper of this theatre of vice. The publication alluded to says, in 1676, "Notwithstanding the discourses that have been to the contrary, the boarding school is still

still continued here, where a set of women may be readily untaught all the studies of modesty or chastity; to which purpose they are provided with a two-handed volume of impudence, loosely bound up in greasy vellum, which is tied by the leg to a wicker chair (as you find authors chained in a library), and is always ready to give you plain instructions and directions in all matters relating to immorality or irreligion: as, first, you are taught the art of swearing modishly, and with a *bon grace;* next, of dressing yourself in a loose garb, and standing at the door to invite strangers into the house; then comes in the faculty of spunging stipony, and of inflaming the reckoning as occasion shall require; then for singing impudently and out of tune, it is easy attainable, and a most taking accomplishment; lastly, for night-rambles and picking up of cullies, with many other ways and contrivances to spend your time in doing nothing, or what is worse than nothing, are here found out and taught with all imaginable care and expedition."

Incomprehensible as it certainly is, the brutal acts of a mob are sometimes the result of a just sense of the ill consequences attending vice; and, although almost every individual composing it is capable of performing deeds which deserve punishment from the police, they cannot collectively view long and deliberate offences against the laws of propriety, without assuming the right of reforming

forming them. The Loyal and Impartial Mercury of Sept. 1, 1682, has this paragraph: "On Saturday last, about 500 apprentices, and such like, being got together in Smithfield, went into Lincoln's Inn fields, where they drew up, and, marching into Whetstone's Park, fell upon the lewd houses there, where, having broken open the doors, they entered, and made great spoil of the goods; of which the constables and watchmen having notice, and not finding themselves strong enough to quell the tumult, procured a party of the king's guards, who dispersed them, and took eleven, who were committed to New Prison; yet on Sunday night they came again, and made worse havock than before, breaking down all the doors and windows, and cutting the featherbeds and other goods in pieces." Another newspaper explains the origin of the riot by saying, that a countryman who had been decoyed into one of the houses alluded to, and robbed, lodged a formal and public complaint against them to those he found willing to listen to him in Smithfield, and thus raised the ferment.

The various deceivers who preyed upon the publick at this time were exposed in a little filthy work called the Canting Academy, which went through more than one edition (the 2d dated 1674). I shall select from it enough to show the variety of villainy practised under their various names.—The Ruffler was a wretch who assumed the

the character of a maimed soldier, and begged from the claims of Naseby, Edgehill, Newbury, and Marston Moor: those who were stationed in the city of London were generally found in Lincoln's Inn fields and Covent Garden, and their prey was people of fashion, whose coaches were attacked boldly; and if denied, their owners were told, 'Tis a sad thing that an old crippled Cavalier should be suffered to beg for a maintenance, and a young Cavalier that never heard the whistle of a bullet should ride in his coach.

There were persons called Anglers, from the nature of their method of depredating, which was thus:— they had a rod or stick, with an iron hook affixed, this they introduced through a window, or any other aperture, where plunder might be procured, and helped themselves at pleasure: the day was occupied by them in the character of beggars, when they made their observations for the angling of the night.

Wild Rogues were the offspring of thieves and beggars, who received the rudiments of their art even before they left their mothers' backs: "To go into churches and great crowds, and to *nim* golden buttons off men's cloaks, and, being very little, are shewn how to creep into cellar windows or other small entrances, and in the night to convey out thereat whatever they can find to the thievish receivers, who wait without for that purpose; and sometimes do open the door to let in

such who have designed to rob the house; if taken, the tenderness of their age makes an apology or an excuse for their fault, and so are let alone to be hanged at riper years."

Palliards, or Clapperdogeons, were those women who sat and reclined in the streets, with their own, borrowed, or stolen children hanging about them, crying through cold, pinching, or real disease, who begged relief as widows, and in the name of their fatherless children, gaining by this artifice "a great deal of money, whilst her comrogue lies begging in the fields, with clymes or artificial sores:" the way they commonly take to make them is by sperewort or arsenic, which will draw blisters: or they take unslaked lime and soap, mingled with the rush of old iron: these being well tempered together, and spread thick upon two pieces of leather, they apply to the leg, binding it thereunto very hard which in a very little time will fret the skin so that the flesh will appear all raw, &c. &c.

Fraters were impostors who went through the country with forged patents for briefs, and thus diverted charity from its proper direction.

Abram men were fellows whose occupations seem to have been forgotten: they are described in the Canting Academy in these words: "Abram men are otherwise called Tom of Bedlams; they are very strangely and antickly garbed, with several coloured ribbands or tape in their hats, it

it may be instead of a feather, a fox tail hanging down, a long stick with ribbands streaming, and the like; yet for all their seeming madness, they have wit enough to steal as they go."

The Whip Jacks have left us a specimen of their fraternity: they were counterfeit mariners, whose conversations were plentifully embellished with sea terms, and falsehoods of their dangers in the exercise of their profession. Instead of securing their arms and legs close to their bodies, and wrapping them in bandages (as the modern *Whip Jack* is in the habit of doing, to excite compassion for the loss of limbs and severe wounds), the *antients* merely pretended they had lost their all by shipwreck, and were reduced to beg their way to a sea-port, if in the country; or to some remote one, if in London.

Mumpers—The persons thus termed are described as being of both sexes: they were not solicitors for food, but money and cloaths. "The male Mumper, in the times of the late Usurpation, was cloathed in an old torn cassock, begirt with a girdle, with a black cap, and a white one peeping out underneath." With a formal and studied countenance, he stole up to a gentleman, and whispered him softly in the ear, that he was a poor sequestered parson, with a wife and many children. At other times, they would assume the habit of a decayed gentleman, and beg as if they had been ruined by their attachment to the

Royal cause. Sometimes the Mumper appeared "with an apron before him, and a cap on his head, and begs in the nature of a broken tradesman, who, having been a long time sick, hath spent all his remaining stock, and so weak he cannot work." The females of this class of miscreants generally attacked the ladies, and in a manner suited to make an impression on their finer feelings.

"Dommerars are such who counterfeit themselves dumb, and have a notable art to roll their tongues up into the roof of their mouth, that you would verily believe their tongues were cut out; and to make you have the stronger belief thereof, they will gape and shew you where it was done, clapping in a sharp stick, and, touching the tongue, make it bleed—and then the ignorant dispute it no farther."

"Patricos are the Strolling Priests: every hedge is their parish, and every wandering rogue their parishioner. The service he saith is the marrying of couples, without the Gospel, or Book of Common Prayer, the solemnity whereof is thus: the parties to be married find out a dead horse, or any other beast, and, standing one on the one side and the other on the other, the Patrico bids them live together till death them part; and, so shaking hands, the wedding is ended."

The Gamester of 1674 is thus described in an anonymous little volume intituled the "Complete Game-

Gamester," written with a moral intention and much ability. "Some say he was born with cards in his hands; others that he will die so; but certainly it is all his life, and, whether he sleeps or wakes, he thinks of nothing else." He speaks the language of the game he plays at, better than the language of his country; and can less endure a solecism in that, than this. He knows no judge but the groom-porter, no law but that of the game —at which he is so expert, all appeal to him as subordinate judge to the supreme ones. He loves winter more than summer, because it affords more gamesters; and Christmas more than any other time, because there is more gaming then. He gives more willingly to the butler than to the poor's-box, and is never more religious than when he prays he may win.

"He imagines he is at play when he is at church; he takes his prayer-book for a pack of cards, and thinks he is shuffling when he turns over the leaves. This man will play like Nero when the city is on fire, or like Archimedes when it is sacking, rather than interrupt his game. If play hath reduced him to poverty, then he is like one drowning, who fastens upon any thing next at hand. Amongst other of his shipwrecks, he hath happily lost shame, and this want supplies him. No man puts his brain to more use than he; for his life is a daily invention, and each meal a new stratagem; and, like a fly,

will

will boldly sup at every man's cup. He will offer you a quart of sack, out of his joy to see you; and, in requital of this courtesy, you can do no less than pay for it. His borrowings are like subsidies, each man a shilling or two, as he can well dispend; which they lend him not with the hope to be repaid, but that he will come no more. Men shun him, at length, as they do an infection; and having done with the aye, as his cloaths to him, hung on as long as he could, at last drops off."

The same author describes an ordinary * of the above period in glowing colours, and proceeds: "These rooks can do little harm in the day-time at an ordinary, being forced to play upon the *square*; although now and then they make an advantage, when the *box-keeper goes with him;* and then the knave and rascal will violate his trust for profit, and lend him (when

* A small book, published in 1674, mentions an ordinary in these words; from which it will be found, that the ordinary of that time was but little different from those of the present day, in one particular: "An ordinary is a handsome house, where every day, about *the hour of twelve,* a good dinner is prepared, by way of ordinary, composed of variety of dishes in season, well dressed, with all other accommodations fit for that purpose; whereby many gentlemen of great estates and good repute make this place their resort, who after dinner play awhile for recreation, both moderately, and commonly without deserving reproof."

he

he sees good) a *tickler* shall do his business; but if discovered, the box-keeper ought to be soundly kicked for his pains. Such practices, and sometimes the box-keeper's connivances, are so much used of late, that there is nothing near that fair play in an ordinary as formerly. The day being shut in, you may properly compare this place to those countries which lie far in the North, where it is as clear at midnight as at noon day; and though it is a house of sin, yet you cannot call it a house of darkness; for the candles never go out till morning, unless the sudden fury of a losing gamester makes them extinct. This is the time (when ravenous beasts usually seek their prey) wherein comes shoals of *Huffs, Hectors, Setters, Gilts, Pads, Biters, Divers, Lifters, Filers, Budgies, Droppers, Cross-biters,* &c. and these may all pass under the general and common appellation of Rooks. And in this particular an ordinary serves as a nursery for Tyburn; for if any one will put himself to the trouble of observation, he shall find that there is seldom a year wherein there are not some of this gang hung as precious jewels in the ear of Tyburn. Look back, and you will find a great many gone already: God knows how many are to follow! These Rooks are in continual motion, walking from one table to another, till they can discover some inexperienced young gentleman, cashier, or apprentice, that is come to this school

of

of virtue, being unskilled in the quibbles and the vices there practised: these they call the Lambs or Culls. Then do the Rooks (more properly called Wolves) strive who shall fasten on him first; following him close, and engaging him in some advantageous bets; and at length worries him, that is, gets all his money; and then the Rooks (Rogues I should have said) laugh and grin, saying, 'the Lamb is bitten!'

"Some of these Rooks will be very importunate to borrow money of you, without any intention to pay you; or to go with you seven to twelve, half a crown or more, whereby, without a very great chance (ten to one, or more), he is sure to win. If you are sensible thereof, and refuse his proposition, they will take it so ill, that if you have not an especial care, they will pick your pocket, nim your gold or silver buttons off your cloak or coat; or, it may be, draw your silver-hilted sword out of your belt without discovery; especially if you are eager upon your cast; which is done thus—the silver buttons are strung, or run upon cat's guts, fastened at the upper and nether end. Now by ripping both ends very ingeniously (as they call it), give it the gentle pull, and so rub off with the buttons; and if your cloak be loose, it is ten to one they have it. But that which will most provoke, in my opinion, any man's rage to a just satisfaction, is their throwing many times at a good sum with a *dog*

a *dog fist* (as they call it); that is, if they *nick* you, it is theirs; if they lose, they owe you so much; with many other quillets. Some I have known so abominably impudent, that they would snatch up the stakes, and thereupon instantly draw; saying, 'if you will have your money, you must fight for it; for he is a gentleman, and will not want. However, if you will be patient, he will pay you another time.' If you are so tame as to take this, go no more to the ordinary; for then the whole gang will be ever and anon watching an opportunity to make a *mouth* of you, in the like nature.

"If you nick them, it is odds if they wait not your coming out at night, and beat you. I could produce you an hundred examples in this kind. But they will rarely adventure on the attempt, unless they are backed with some *Bully-huffs* and *Bully-rocks*, with others whose fortunes are as desperate as their own. We need no other testimony, to confirm the danger of associating with these Anthropophagi, or man-eaters, than Lincoln's-inn Fields, whilst Speering's ordinary was kept in Bell-yard; and, that you need not want a pair of witnesses for the proof thereof, take in also Covent Garden.

"Neither is the house itself to be exempted: every night, almost, some one or other, who, either heated with wine, or made choleric with the loss of his money, raises a quarrel; swords

are

are drawn, box and candlesticks thrown at one another's heads, tables overthrown, and all the house in such a garboyl, that it is the perfect type of hell. Happy is the man now that can make the frame of a table, or chimney-corner, his sanctuary; and if any are so fortunate to get to the stair-head, they will rather hazard the breaking of their own necks, than have their souls pushed out of their bodies, in the dark, by they know not whom. I once observed one of the desperadoes of the town (being half drunk) to press a gentleman very much at play to lend him a crown; the gentleman refused him several times; yet still the borrower persisted; and, holding his head somewhat too near the *Caster's* elbow, it chanced to hit his nose: the other, thinking it to be affront enough to be denied the loan of money (without this slight touch of the nose), drew, and, stepping back unawares to the gentleman, made a full pass at him, intending to have run him through the body; but his drunkenness misguided his hand, so that he run him only through the arm. This put the house into so great a confusion and fright, that some fled, thinking the gentleman slain. This wicked miscreant thought this not sufficient; but, tripping up his heels, pinned him (as he thought) to the floor, and, after this, takes the gentleman's silver sword, leaving his in the wound; and, with a grand jury of damme's (which may hereafter find him

him guilty at the Great Tribunal), bid all stand off, if they loved their lives; and so went clear off, with sword and liberty.

" But to proceed on as to play. Late at night, when the company grows thin, and your eyes dim with watching, false dice are frequently put upon the ignorant; or they are otherwise cheated by *topping*, *slurring*, stabbing, &c.; and if you be not careful and vigilant, the box-keeper shall score you up double or treble boxes; and, though you have lost your money, dun you as severely for it as if it were the justest debt in the world. The more subtle and genteeler sort of Rooks (as aforesaid) you shall not distinguish, by their outward demeanour, from persons of condition: these will sit by a whole evening, and observe who wins; if the winner be *bubbleable*, they will insinuate themselves into his company, by applauding his success, advising him to leave off whilst he is well; and lastly, by civilly inviting him to drink a glass of wine; where, having well warmed themselves to make him more than half drunk, they wheedle him in to play; to which if he condescend, he shall quickly have no money left him in his pocket; unless, perchance, a crown the rooking-winner lent him in courtesy to bear his charges homewards. This they do by false dice, as High Fullams, 4, 5, 6; Low Fullams, 1, 2, 3; by bristle dice, which are fitted for their purpose, by sticking a hog's-bristle

so

so (in the corners, or otherwise), in the dice, that they shall run high or low as they please. This bristle must be strong and short, by which means (the bristle bending) it will not lie on that side, but will be tripped over; and this is the newest way of making a High or Low Fullam. The old ways are by drilling them, and loading them with quick-silver: but that cheat may be easily discovered by their weight, or holding two corners between your fore-finger and thumb; if (holding them so, gently between your fingers) they turn, you may then conclude them false. Or you may try their falsehood otherwise, by breaking or splitting them. Others have made them by filing and rounding. But all these ways fall short of the art of those who make them: some whereof are so admirably skilful in making a bale of dice to run what you would have them, that your gamesters think they never give enough for their purchase, if they prove right. They are sold in many places about the town — price current, by the help of a friend, eight shillings; whereas our ordinary bale is sold for sixpence. For my part, I shall tell you plainly, I would have those bales of false dice to be sold at the price of the ears of such destructive knaves that made them.

"Another way the Rook hath to cheat is, first, by *palming*; that is, he puts one die into the box, and keeps the other in the hollow of his little finger; which, noting what is uppermost, when he

he takes it up, the same shall be when he throws the other die, which runs doubtfully any cast. Observe this, that the bottom and top of all dice are seven; so that if it be four above, it must be three at bottom; so five and two, six and one. Secondly, by topping; and that is, when they take up both dice, and seem to put them into the box; and, shaking the box, you would think them both there, by reason of the rattling occasioned with the screwing of the box; whereas one of them is at the top of the box between his two fore-fingers, or secured by thrusting a fore-finger into the box. Thirdly, by slurring; that is, by taking up your dice as you will have them lie advantageously in your hand, placing the one on the top of the other, not caring if the uppermost run a mill-stone (as they used to say), if the undermost run without turning; and therefore a smooth table is altogether requisite for this purpose: on a rugged, rough board, it is a hard matter to be done; whereas on a smooth table (the best are rubbed over with bees-wax, to fill up all chinks and crevises) it is usual, for some time, to slur a die two yards or more, without turning. Fourthly, by knapping; that is, when you strike a die dead, that it shall not stir: this is best done within the tables; where, note, there is no securing but of one die; although there are some who boast of securing both. I have seen some so dextrous at knapping, that they have

have done it through the handle of a quart pot, or over a candle and candlestick; but that which I most admired, was throwing through the same less than ames ace with two dice upon a groat held in the left hand, on the one side of the handle, a foot distance, and the dice thrown with the right hand on the other. Lastly, by stabbing; that is, having a smooth box, and small in the bottom: you drop in both your dice, in such manner as you would have them sticking therein by reason of its narrowness, the dice lying upon one another; so that, turning up the box, the dice never tumble; if a smooth box, if true, but little; by which means you have bottoms according to the stops you put in; for example, if you put in your dice so that two fives or two fours lie at top, you have in the bottom turned up the two twos or two treys; so if six and no ace at top, a six and an ace at bottom. Now if the gentleman be passed that class of ignoramusses, then they effect their purpose by cross-biting, or some other dexterity, of which they have every variety imaginable.

"If the house find you free to the box, and a constant caster, you shall be treated with suppers at night, and a candle in the morning, and have the honour to be styled a lover of the house, whilst your money lasts, which certainly cannot belong; for here you shall be quickly destroyed under pretence of kindness, as men were by the

lamiæ

lamiæ of old, which you may easily gather, if from no other consideration than this, that I have seen three persons sit down at twelve-penny inn and inn, and each draw forty shillings a piece: in less than three hours, the box hath had three pounds, and all the three gamesters have been losers."

It will be sufficient to add the names of the games then in use, which were billiards, trucks, bowling, chess with cards, piquet, the game at gleek, ombre, cribbage, all-fours, English ruff, and honours, and whist, French ruff, five cards, costly colours, bone ace, put, and the high game, wit and reason, plain dealing, queen Nazareen, lantiloo, pennuch, post and pair, bankafalet, boast, Irish, backgammon, tick tack dubblets, sice ace, ketch dolt, inn and inn, passage, and hazard.

Fortunately for the peace and honour of the metropolis, it has very rarely happened, that occurrences of the following description are to be found in the various vehicles of intelligence I have examined in compiling this work. In the month of February 1679, several gentlemen who had been indulging in the pleasures of the table, entered the Duke's playhouse during the performance with lighted links in their hands, which they threw at the actors, at the same time uttering many severe invectives against the duchess of Portsmouth and others; they then left the Theatre, and, entering a coach, drove to Leicester fields, where, finding a crowd assembled to view a bon-

a bonfire made by the Envoy of the duke of Holstein on some occasion peculiar to his court, one of the party mounted the box, and pronounced an oration to the multitude against arbitrary government and the Roman Catholics. The consequences immediately succeeding these outrageous acts were, the demolition of the windows of the neighbourhood, and the temporary suspension of performances at the Duke's playhouse.

It was said in the newspapers of the beginning of the year 1679 that Lord Bertlet, who then resided in the parish of St. James, Clerkenwell, had not only offered to advance the money proposed to be raised by brief for the redemption of the English captives at Algiers, but actually determined to visit that place himself, to conduct the negotiation for their ransom. What a contrast doth the conduct of this nobleman offer to that of the wretches noticed in the preceding paragraph!

Many relations of duels might be given, which would serve to render the persons concerned in them infamous to the latest posterity, and which would evince the extreme frequency of this description of murder. Charles II. has certainly left us little reason to applaud his own conduct; but it must not be supposed that, however he might err himself, he was not aware morality in his subjects did him equal honour and service. The Proclamation introduced below expiates a number

number of his sins, and demonstrates that he thought correctly, and sometimes acted so.

"CHARLES R.

"Whereas it is become too frequent, especially with persons of quality, under a vain pretence of honor, to take upon them to be the revengers of their private quarrels by duel and single combate, which ought not to be upon any pretence or provocation whatsoever; We, considering that the sin of murther is detestable before God, and this way of prosecuting satisfaction scandalous to Christian religion, and the manifest violation of our laws and authority, out of our pious care to prevent unchristian and rash effusion of blood, do by this our royal proclamation strictly charge and command all our loving subjects, of what quality soever, that they do not, either by themselves or by others, by message, word, writing, or other ways or means, challenge, or cause to be challenged, any person or persons to fight in combate, or single duel, nor carry, accept, or conceal, any such challenge, or appointment, nor actually fight any such duel with any of our subjects or others, or as a second, or otherwise accompany or become assistant therein. And we do hereby, to the intent that all persons may take care to prevent the dangers they may incur by acting or assisting in any such duel, declare our royal pleasure, that we will not grant our pardon to any person or persons that shall fight, or be any way aiding or

concerned in any such duel where any person shall be slain, or die of his wounds received therein, but will leave all such persons to the utmost rigour and severity of the laws: And further, that we will not suffer or endure any person or persons to be or remain in our court, who shall presume to intercede in the behalf of any person or persons that shall offend contrary to this our proclamation. And for the better avoiding all such duels, we do hereby straitly charge and command all person and persons whatsoever who shall receive or know of any challenge sent or delivered as aforesaid, that they do forthwith give notice thereof to some of our Privy Council, or otherwise to some Justice of Peace near the place where such offence shall be committed, upon pain of our highest displeasure, and being left to be proceeded against according to the strictest rigour and severity of the laws.

"Given at our Court at Whitehall, the ninth day of March 1679, in the two and thirtieth year of our reign."

There is no part of the British character more inexplicable than that which makes the populace so extremely willing to acquiesce in the arguments and assertions of interested persons: the most absurd and improbable falsehoods are received as truths; and though we are generally a reasoning and a thinking people, and, after deliberation, almost always right in our decisions, there is not

a nation

a nation in Europe, whose subjects are less correct in forming an immediate just conception of men and their intentions. A curious instance of the truth of this remark took place in April 1680. A person, whose name is not mentioned, who had been particularly active in procuring the King's letters patent for a collection throughout the kingdom to redeem the English captives at Algiers, summoned the relations and friends of those people to meet him at Whitefriars, where he intended to gratify them with a view of the brief under the great seal. Unfortunately for this humane gentleman, he had not the brief in his own possession, but expected to meet another who had, at the time appointed; that other, however, was not punctual to the hour; he was, therefore, under the necessity of stating to the assembly, that he had obtained the brief, and would exhibit it as soon as the bearer arrived. The murmurs produced by this delay now became absolute abuse. "This being observed by a cunning blade," says the Mercurius Anglicus, "he laid hold of the opportunity, and, by heightening their distrust, made a party for himself, out of whom he got store of money, perswading them to complain to the Council of the injury done them by the person first mentioned, and that *he* would do their business to their content."

Blinded by rage, and desirous of revenge for the supposed disappointment of their hopes, these

infatuated people divided immediately; part going to Whitehall to prefer their complaint, and part remaining to revile and threaten the patient sufferer in their cause, whose personal safety was seriously endangered; and he would perhaps have become a victim to their fury, had not the brief at length arrived, which having shewn them, their curses were changed to blessings, and their abuse to commendations of the generosity of their benefactor.

When we express our surprise at the strange conduct of the ignorant persons concerned in the above transaction, it should be tempered with the reflection that education had not, in this case, assisted nature in forming just conclusions—those of exalted stations in life furnish more reason for animadversion, when they provoke the punishment education and experience convince them must follow the commission of evil. How are we to account for the dissolute manners of the Monarch and his courtiers, from the Restoration to the close of the reign of Charles II, after the dreadful experience produced by the Interregnum? Surely the fact is quite as inexplicable as the intemperance of the populace. Many methods were adopted, sometimes through malice, and perhaps a sense of duty, to revenge the cause of injured virtue, by exposing the King to contempt and abhorrence, and not one exceeded that which produced the following declaration from

from the Sovereign, whose feelings must have been acute indeed at the time of its publication in the London Gazette.

"*At the Court at Whitehal, April 26, 1680.*—His Majesty having commanded the Council to meet this day extraordinarily, acquainted them, that he lately had notice of a false and dangerous rumour spread abroad, of a black box pretended to be found, wherein was contained a writing, importing a marriage, or contract of marriage, between his Majesty and the Duke of Monmouth's mother; which his Majesty did positively declare to be altogether false; and therefore said, he thought himself obliged in honour and conscience to have the matter throughly examined and searched into, and that, in order thereunto, he had sent for Sir Gilbert Gerard, who was reported to be the person that had seen some such writing, or to have had the same in custody.

"Whereupon Sir Gilbert Gerard being called in before his Majesty in Council (his Royal Highness and all the Judges of the Courts at Westminster being present by his Majesties particular command), this following question was by his Majesties order, and by the advice of his Privy Council, and by the opinion of all the Judges proposed to him, viz. Whether he knew of, or had seen, any writing, importing a marriage, or contract of marriage, between his Majesty and the Duke

Duke of Monmouth's mother; to which Sir Gilbert Gerard, having taken his oath upon the holy Evangelists, made answer, that he never had seen any such writing, nor was there ever any such committed to his custody, nor did he know of any such thing; whereunto he also subscribed his name. After which, his Majesty, declaring he resolved to use all means possible to find out the author of this report, required all the Lords of the Council, and the Judges there present, to give an account, whether they had heard of any discourses relating to the said or any like matter: To which they all answered, they had heard of nothing concerning it but a flying and imperfect rumour of late discoursed of; one of the Lords of the Council only acquainted his Majesty, that a gentleman had told him of some particular discourse he had lately heard of that matter.

"His Majesty thereupon commanded Mr. Secretary Jenkins to examine the said gentleman, or any other who should be named by him, in order to trace the said false report up to the first author and inventor of it."

He that would give a faithful picture of manners must descend to the actions and inventions of the vilest of mankind. Unfortunately the majority of men are capable of artifice and meanness; hence but too many of my anecdotes are illustrations of knavery. Poor Robin's Intelligence, a publication of 1679, furnishes a case in point.

"Smith-

"Smithfield, March 31. This afternoon, at a general rendezvous here, were mustered together a great number of horses and horse-coursers, that is to say, jades and rooks; for I defy the cunningest gamester in Covent Garden to offer more tricks of cheating and cozenage than a Smithfield jockey. He is a fellow that would deceive all the world, and nobody so soon as a friend that confides in him; therefore, whosoever takes a horse upon his word is sure to be jaded. The mare mentioned in our last Intelligence (as a lean py'd one, near ten hands, comes two and thirty, narrow jawed, sour headed, saddle backed, goose rumped, hip shot foundered, and moon blind,) came this day into the market, so neat and trim, that, like a new beauty, all eyes were upon her; her colour was now coal black, with a star, snip, and one white foot; she had learned to swallow eels as naturally as a heron, and she was blown up like butcher's veal, till she appeared as queere about the buttocks as a suburb hostess; they had beaten out so much of her teeth that you would have taken her for a yearling colt, as old folks, when they have but a snag or two left, pass for children; and, in brief, all her defects were so supplied, that a sly racer of the West presently snapped her up, and designs to do notable feats with her upon Newmarket heath."

The paper which contains the above extract advertises "A maid-servant to be hired, either

weekly,

weekly, monthly, or quarterly, for reasonable wages; one that is an incomparable slut, and goes all the day slip-shod with her stockings out at heels; an excellent housewife, that wastes more of every thing than she spends; an egregious scold, that will always have the last word; an everlasting gossip, that tells abroad whatsoever is done in the house; a lazy trosses, that cares not how late she sits up, nor how long she lies in the morning; and, in short, one that is light-fingered, knowing nothing, and yet pretending to every thing." — This sketch of the *qualifications* possessed by some domestic attendants in 1676 seems to contradict the idea that all things are subject to change, as I am fearful many of my readers have experienced similar *blessings* from their servants, since the beginning of the present century.

The Intelligence-office for Servants was first established under a patent granted by Charles II. in the year 1671. The patentees had appointed three places where masters and mistresses and servants might mutually accommodate themselves, opposite the Assurance-office, within the Royal Exchange, next door to the Royal Coffee-house, near Whitehall, and at the Three Cranes, near the Meal Market, Southwark.

The London Gazette of August 7, 1679, contains the succeeding notice:—"The Lord Mayor and Court of Aldermen, taking notice that the City

City and Liberties thereof, and especially the street of Cornhill and passages to the Royal Exchange, are much pestered with a sort of loose and idle persons, called Hawkers, who do daily publish and sell seditious books, scurrilous pamphlets, and scandalous printed papers, contrary to law, and to the great scandal of the Government of this City (for the suppressing of whom, divers orders and provisions have been formerly made by that Court), have thought fit for the regulation thereof, and for the more effectual putting in execution the laws against such offenders, to appoint and command the Marshal of the City, as well as the constables, to take care that no persons whatsoever do from henceforth sell, cry, publish, or disperse, any books, pamphlets, or other printed papers, in any place within this City, or the Liberties thereof; and to apprehend all such Hawkers and offenders, and to bring them before the Lord Mayor, or some other of his Majesty's Justices of the Peace, to be set at hard labour at Bridewell, or otherwise to be dealt with according to law."

It is impossible to give a more correct or more authentic general sketch of the manners of 1679, than may be found in a proclamation issued by the Lord Mayor in that year. I therefore transcribe it at length, and shall leave the reader to draw his own inferences.

" BY THE MAYOR.

" The Right Honourable the Lord Mayor having taken into his serious consideration the many dreadful afflictions which this City hath of late years suffered, by a raging plague, a most unheard-of devouring fire, and otherwise; and justly fearing that the same have been occasioned by the many hainous crying sins and provocations to the Divine Majesty: and his Lordship also considering the present dangers of greater mischiefs and misery which seem still to threaten this City, if the execution of the righteous judgments of God Almighty be not prevented by an universal timely repentance and reformation: he hath, therefore, thought it one duty of his office, being intrusted to take all possible care for the good government, peace, and welfare of this City, first, to pray and perswade all and every the inhabitants thereof to reform, themselves and families, all sins and enormities whereof they know themselves to be guilty; and if neither the fear of the Great God, nor of his impending judgments, shall prevail upon them, he shall be obliged to let them know, that, as he is their chief Magistrate, he ought not to bear the sword in vain; and therefore doth resolve, by God's grace," to take the assistance of his brethren the Aldermen, and to require the aid of all the Officers of this City in their several places, to punish and s[illegible] accord[illegible]

according to the laws of the land, and the good customs of this City, those scandalous and provoking sins which have of late encreased and abounded amongst us, even without shame, to the dishonour of Christianity, and the scandal of the government of this City, heretofore so famous over the world for its piety, sobriety, and good order.

"To the end therefore that the laws may become a terror unto evil-doers, and that such, in whose hearts the fear of God, and the love of virtue, shall not prevail, being forewarned, may amend their lives for fear of punishment, his Lordship hath thought fit to remember them of several penalties provided by law against notorious offenders; as also of all Constables and Public Officers (who are to put the said laws in execution) of their duty therein.

"First, Every profane curser and swearer ought to be punished by the payment of twelve pence for every oath; and if the same cannot be levied upon the offenders goods, then he is to sit three hours in the stocks.

"Secondly, Every drunkard is to pay for the first offence five shillings; and in default thereof to sit six hours in the stocks, and for the second offence, to find sureties for the good behaviour, or to be committed to the common gaol; and the like punishment is to be inflicted upon all common haunters of ale-houses and taverns, and common

mon gamesters, and persons justly suspected to live by any unlawful means, having no visible way to support themselves in their manner of living. And no person is to sit or continue tipling or drinking more than one hour, unless upon some extraordinary occasion, in any tavern, victualling-house, ale-house, or other tipling-house, upon the penalty of ten shillings for every offence upon the master of such house; and upon the person that shall so continue drinking, three shillings four pence.

"Thirdly, Every person maintaining houses suspected of common bawdry, by the law, is to find sureties for their good behaviour; likewise all night-walkers, and persons using that impudent and insufferable practice of attempting others modesty in the streets, are to be punished at the House of Correction, and find sureties for their good behaviour.

"Fourthly, All persons using any unlawful exercises on the Lord's day, or tipling in taverns, inns or ale-houses, and coffee-houses, during divine service on that day, are to forfeit three shillings four pence for every offence, to be levied by distress, and where none can be had, to sit three hours in the stocks; and every vintner, innkeeper, or ale-house keeper, that shall suffer any such drinking or tipling in his house, is to forfeit ten shillings for every offence; and no person may sit in the streets, with herbs, fruits, or other things

things, to expose them to sale, nor no hackney coachman may stand or ply in the streets on that day.

"And therefore all Constables and other officers, whom it doth or may concern, are required, according to their oaths solemnly taken in that behalf, to take care for discovering and bringing to punishment whosoever shall offend in any of the premises; and for that end they are to enter into any suspected houses before mentioned to search for any such disorderly persons as shall be found misbehaving themselves, or doing contrary to the said laws, and to levy the penalties, and bring the offenders before some of his Majesties Justices of the Peace of this City, to be dealt withall according to law.

"And whereas there are other disorders of another nature, very dishonourable, and a great scandal to the government of this City, and very prejudicial to the trade and commerce of the same; his Lordship, therefore, is resolved by God's blessing, with the assistance of his brethren the Aldermen, to use his utmost endeavour to prevent the same, by putting in execution the good and wholesome laws in force for that purpose, with all strictness and severity; some of which he hath thought fit to enumerate, with the duties and penalties upon every Constable and other officers concerned therein.

"As first, the great resort of rogues, vagrants, idle

idle persons, and common beggars, pestring and anoying the streets and common passages, and all places of publick meetings and resort, against whom very good provision is made by the law, viz.

"That all such persons shall be openly whipped, and forthwith sent from parish to parish to the place where he or she was born, if known; if not, to the place where he or she last dwelt for the space of one year, to be set to work; or not being known where he or she was born or dwelt, then to be sent to the parish where he or she last passed through without punishment.

"That every Constable that shall not do his best endeavour for the apprehension of such vagabond, rogue, or sturdy beggar, and cause him or her to be punished or conveyed according to law, shall forfeit ten shillings for every default.

"Secondly, The not paving and cleansing of the streets: the redressing whereof being by a late act of Parliament put into Commissioners appointed by Common Council, his Lordship doth hereby recommend the same to the Deputies and Common Council of the several wards within this City, to use their utmost diligence in that affair, and especially to mind their respective Commissioners of the duty incumbent upon them, and of the daily damage which the City

suffers

suffers by the neglect thereof. And his Lordship doth declare he will appear at the said Commission of Sewers as often as his more urgent occasions will give him leave, and doth expect such attendance of the other Commissioners as may render the act more effectual than hitherto it hath been.

"Thirdly, The neglect of the inhabitants of this City in hanging and keeping out their lights at the accustomed hours, according to the good and antient usage of this City, and acts of Common Council in that behalf.

"Fourthly, the not setting and continuing the watches at such hours, and in such numbers, and in such sober and orderly manner in all other respects, as by the acts of Common Council in that behalf is directed and appointed.

"And his Lordship doth strictly require the Fellowship of Carmen to be very careful in the due observance of the good and wholesome rules and orders which have been made for their regulation: his Lordship intending severely to inflict the penalties imposed in default thereof.

"And to the end that no Constable or other Officers or Ministers of Justice may be any ways discouraged in their lawful, diligent, and vigorous prosecution of the premises, it is provided, that if they or any of them shall be resisted in the just and lawful execution of their charge and duty, or in any wise affronted or abused, they shall be

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encouraged, maintained, and vindicated by the justice, order, and authority of his Lordship and the Court of Aldermen, and the offenders prosecuted and punished according to law.

"Dated at the Guildhall, London, the 29th day of November 1679, in the 31 year of the reign of our Sovereign Lord Charles the Second, by the grace of God, of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, King, defender of the faith, &c.

"GOD SAVE THE KING."

I shall not attempt to ascertain whether imprisonment for debt is cruel, politic, or useful, as one of the customs of the country. It is enough, for the present occasion, to say, that I believe the general amelioration of manners has extended to this particular. More than an hundred years past, the system of arrests had assumed a most formidable appearance; and we find, by "Poor Robin," that the Poultry Compter-gate was surrounded by bailiffs, who waited for employment as porters now do at the Temple, and other places. It is not impossible but the then state of society rendered prompt measures necessary, to prevent the ruin of tradesmen who gave credit; as we are well aware the depredator enjoyed greater liberty in his pursuits, than the numerous statutes made since 1677 now allow him.

A pleasing and laudable custom has very long prevailed in England of endeavouring to perpetuate

tuate a name—many instances of which might be given; but those of Allen (in the case of the Mastership of Dulwich College) and the ensuing will be sufficient to attract the attention of the reader to this point. "Whereas the yearly meeting of the name of Adam hath of late, through the deficiency of the last stewards, been neglected; these are to give notice to all gentlemen and others that are of that name, that at William Adams', commonly called the Northern Alehouse, in St. Paul's alley, in St. Paul's churchyard, there will be a weekly meeting every Monday night of our name-sakes, between the hours of 6 and 8 of the clock in the evening, in order to choose stewards to revive our antient and annual feast." *Dom. Intel.* 1681. This was a genuine and spontaneous desire of honouring a name, and very different from the more prevalent custom of purchasing the consent of an individual to resign his own, and take the purchaser's.

It is well known that an Englishman ever detested a *scolding* female, and that our laws have provided a punishment calculated to repress the hateful custom of permitting the tongue to exercise the vengeance denied to the hands. The ducking-stool, placed near the banks of a pond, on which the offender was compelled to sit while it was plunged into the cool fluid, might be supposed a sufficient preventive of the practice of

abuse; but I am afraid the lower classes, from time immemorial, relying upon the lenity of their hearers, have indulged pretty freely *in speaking their minds.* The Records of the Court of King's Bench furnish a case in the year 1681 of a Mrs. Finch, a most notorious scold, thrice ducked for that offence previously, who appeared there on trial for a repetition of it, when the Court sentenced her on conviction to pay a fine of three marks, or be imprisoned till it was paid. The markets of London have always furnished the means of completely comprehending the use which may be made of our language where decency and the established rules of *civilized* society are not admitted, and Billingsgate fishwomen have ever had the unequivocal suffrages of the public as to the superior ability with which they maintain an angry argument, or revenge a real or supposed affront.

Xantippe, the wife of Socrates, is a sufficient proof in herself of the antiquity of scolding, and as the Kelts, the Romans, the Saxons, and the Normans, all scolded to a certainty, we must not be surprised that their descendants followed their example. And now, lest the *ladies* of the present day may be offended, and scold *me* and my *book*, I will acknowledge, that both foreign and English history furnish numberless proofs that *gentlemen* of all descriptions have *imitated* their mothers and wives, but with *partial success only*, not through

through want of ability, but because male scolds sometimes run the risk of immediate corporeal chastisement from their opponents, an amazing check on the attainment of excellence in this propensity.

A Parliament was held at Oxford in the beginning of 1681; and this circumstance enables me to notice a custom which has been very prevalent on all electioneering and some other occasions since that year, whether it originated then or not. The representatives of London assembled at Guildhall on the 17th of March, for the purpose of commencing their journey, many of the citizens met them there, intending to acccompany them part of the way, together with others who were deputed to go to Oxford as a sort of council to the city members. "Some of our ingenious London weavers," says Smith's Protestant Intelligence, "had against this day contrived a very fine fancy, that is, a blue satin riband, having these words plainly and legibly wrought upon it, 'No Popery, no Slavery!' which being tied up in knots, were worn in the hats of the horsemen who accompanied our members."

The above *intimations* of what the public expected of the Government were practically *demonstrated* on another subject by a different and lower order of the people, who conceived pure ideas, but dreadfully mangled them in the execution. On the 17th day of April, some con-

curring circumstances having congregated a considerable number of persons in Moorfields about seven in the evening, it was suggested, that it would be extremely proper to level to the ground all those houses known to be the homes of loose women. This motion having been carried by acclamation, an attack was made upon one, in the neighbourhood of the Windmills; and in a quarter of an hour they had not only demolished the furniture and beds, and some parts of the mansion, but commenced an assault upon others; for, by this time, their forces were computed to be at least 3000 men. The operations of this well-meaning mob soon reached the officers of the police; who, assembling a strong guard, proceeded to the field, conducted by Mr. Sheriff Cornish; when a conflict of a different description occurred, which terminated with many wounds and fractures on both sides, but a complete victory on that of the police.

The second part of this work, relating to a period almost within the memory of our fathers, will contain a chapter on eccentricity; which must serve as a specimen of that peculiar turn of mind in the long interval between the peopling of England and the year 1700; as little instruction or amusement can be derived from such facts as distinguished the manners of an anchor-smith, of Blackwall, who made his public entry to the Green-man, by Epping-forest, on Monday the

the 16th of April, 1681. "The relation is as follows (say the Editors of the Loyal Protestant): First, he was rowed by water from Blackwall-stairs to Bow-bridge; where he was taken up, by the same wherry that carried him thither, by sixteen or twenty watermen; and two watermen were appointed to sit in the boat, to row him (or keep stroke, as they do in the water) upon the land, they being in their white shirts and blue caps; and the said Smith sat in the stern of the boat, smoking a pipe of tobacco, having above four hundred followers. And after they were known to be upon the road, a certain man met them with a winding-horn, and blew before him to the place of his landing; where he was received with much joy and acclamation of the children thereabouts, who never saw the like before."

The method of providing for the sudden and unexpected wants of part of the great community of England, and indeed of mankind, by briefs, did the original proposer honour: nor is it less honourable to the government of this nation, that they have been issued on almost every occasion which required general commiseration and charity for a very long period of our history. By this means, the inhabitants of Cornwall were invited to relieve those of the opposite extremity of the island, when in distress; and they were assured, their own case would be equally considered (if misfortune made it necessary) by those in the remotest

motest situations from them. By briefs the whole country rebuilt villages burnt by accident, churches in decay, and, above all, they rescued Britons from slavery, and Protestants from persecution. For a long time, they were extremely successful; and would perhaps have continued so, had they not become too frequent, and thus enabled villainy to interpose with false appeals to the charitable. The frequent notices in the Gazette, issued before the year 1700, warning the publick against impostors then passing through the country, served to annihilate all confidence in any assertion made by strange collectors, however honest.

It may be proper to mention, that in no way is the reformation of manners amongst the inferior classes more observable, than in the cessation of sudden and dangerous riots in the streets. From the Restoration to the close of the year 1700, the diurnal publications gave very numerous instances of the extreme turbulence of individuals, whose example generally produced partizans. To relate many of the horrid stories scattered in them would be unpleasant: I shall therefore confine myself to one specimen of the manner in which bailiffs were frequently treated, extracted from the Domestic Intelligence of February 13, 1681–2. "A bailiff and his son, belonging to the Marshalsea, went into Hungerford-market to arrest a butcher; and the bailiff told him privately he had a writ against him, and asked him what house he would

go

go to; and the butcher immediately, upon having the writ, fell to hacking the bailiff; insomuch that his left hand is almost cut off, and his right arm cut through the bone; besides other cuts designed upon his head, and other parts of his body, as appears by his hat and clothes: upon which his son (the bailiff's), seeing his father lying wallowing in his blood, and not knowing whether he was dead or alive, withdrew at a distance, and called out murder, and for a constable: upon which the butcher fell upon the son, and received a mortal wound by the son's own defence. The coroner's inquest brought the son in guilty of manslaughter."

The dreadful revenge of Count Coningsmarke upon Mr. Thynne occurred at the same time; but, as no Englishman was concerned in the base assassination of that gentleman, any further notice of it is deemed unnecessary; though the affair will answer another purpose, by shewing the manner in which the publick were daily amused by the newspapers. "There is also another brother in iniquity, the Northfolk fellow, that Observator 101, out of his due course, vomits nothing but gall, green with malice, against Langley Curtiss, for publishing an elegy on Mr. Thynne. Sure the man is mad, raves, and crys out, as if the —— was in his bones: O the d—d elegy! Why, man, are you angry, because the duke of Monmouth was not shot? or that any one thanked God

God for his escape? being so lately before in the coach," &c. &c.

Nat Thompson (who published the Loyal Protestant) gives the two instances, now introduced, of the manners of 1681. "An honourable lady going to Exchange, in London, where she had laid out a great sum of money in necessaries; but, before she had concluded, some persons (no doubt out of a good design) gave out that it was the lady Ogle; whereupon the mobile cried out, that she was a murderer, &c. (alluding to her connection with Conyngsmarke and Thynne) and what not; withall adding, 'Let us pull her in pieces!' whereupon the honourable lady was necessitated privately to withdraw herself, and take a hackney-coach; and went away in it, for fear of being exposed to the insolence and danger of the rabble; and was forced to leave her goods, though paid for, behind her.—Another exploit, not much unlike the former, take as follows: About the same time, the daughter of an honourable lord going in a sedan towards the same place, and perceiving their going with the sedan upon the broad stones might prove troublesome to the passengers, she commanded her servants to give way, and not hinder any person: upon which (they observing her, by her speech, to be a French-woman) they immediately cried out, it was the duchess of Portsmouth—a lady now in France: whereupon, in a rude and barbarous manner,

manner, they endeavoured to overturn the sedan; which they had certainly effected, had not a gentleman come and prevented them, and convinced them of their mistake."

It was a great defect, in the administration of Charles II., that the *apprentices* of London were permitted to act as a deliberative body, which was ready with its opinion on all political questions: an address, signed by many thousands of young men, expressing their determination to support the government, was presented to the king in 1682; which procured them, in return, a very splendid entertainment at Merchant Taylor's Hall, lent to them on this occasion. The duke of Grafton, the earl of Mulgrave, lord Hyde, and sir Joseph Williamson, acted as stewards; and 1500 tickets were distributed, *gratis*. The tickets were in these words: "You are invited, and desired by the right honourable, and others of the stewards, elected at a meeting of the loyal young men and addressors, July 28, 1682, to take a dinner (together with other loyal young freemen and apprentices of the city of London), at Merchant Taylor's Hall, on Wednesday, the 9th of this instant, August, at 12 o'clock," &c. That the king might himself convince these youthful politicians how well pleased he was with their address, he directed the following warrant to be issued to "Walter Dicker—Pray kill a brace of very good bucks, and only paunch them; and

carry

carry them whole, put upright in a cart, stuck with boughs, to Merchant Taylor's Hall, on Tuesday next, for the Apprentice's Feast, on Wednesday, being the 9th of August." Fifty tables were provided; and it was computed, that each accommodated sixty persons; so that double the number expected attended.

The Gazette of August 7, 1682, contains an advertisement from Dr. Pierce, dean of Sarum; offering a reward of forty pounds for the discovery of the person who sent a dead female infant (apparently fourteen days old) to the King's-arms, Holborn-bridge, directed to him, in a fir-box; which he received, and, upon opening it, discovered that the child had been embalmed, rolled in leather, placed in a leaden coffin, and that wrapped in a different coloured silk rug: several old diaper napkins and coarse towels, and an old black stuff apron, completed the contents of the box; which was accompanied, or preceded by this letter:

"Good Mr. Dean, *Normandy, May* 12.

"Think me not confident in giving you this trouble, without which I am incapable of performing the will of the dead; whose last request it was, to have this infant (if it should do otherwise than well) to be laid in the parish church you now live in; and you being his very good friend in his life, makes me hope you will see this charitable act performed for him; and having no

friend

friend left me in the world I can beg the favour of, and I being left so low that I am not able to perform his desire no other way but this: but if ever I am in a capacity, I will repay you, with a million of thanks. In the mean time, I hope God will reward you; and I shall continually pray for you, and your good lady and son, so long as ever I shall live, who is your poor, miserable, and unfortunate servant,

"Ro. Normanvellder."

Dr. Johnson, illustrating the early life of Addison, preserves the remembrance of a custom prevalent in Schools at the latter end of the seventeenth century. "Of this interval [about 1683]," he observes, "his biographers have given no account, and I know it only from a story of a *barring-out*, told me, when I was a boy, by Andrew Corbet of Shropshire, who heard it from Mr. Pigot his uncle. The practice of *barring-out* was a savage licence, practised in many schools to the end of the last century, by which the boys, when the periodical vacation drew near, growing petulant at the approach of liberty, some days before the time of regular recess, took possession of the school, of which they barred the doors, and bade their master defiance from the windows. It is not easy to suppose that on such occasions the master would do more than laugh; yet, if tradition may be credited, he often struggled hard to force or surprise the garrison. The master,

ter, when Pigot was a school-boy, was *barred-out* at Lichfield; and the whole operation, as he said, was planned and conducted by Addison *."

Many families have been ruined by the custom of insuring, in all its varieties, depending upon chance. It would be vain to attempt to point out half those varieties; but it will be proper to shew, that insurance of contingences was known before 1682; as, in that year, a widow attempted to file a bill in Chancery, which implicated nearly five hundred individuals, whom she would have called upon to answer what sums were due from them to her deceased husband, "a kind of insurer," as he is termed by my authority—the London Mercury. This curious bill consisted of sixty skins of parchment, and "three thousand sheets of paper." The lord chancellor, amazed at the effrontery of the woman, and considering the enormous expence each defendant would incur by procuring a copy of it, dismissed it, and directed Mr. Newman (the counsellor who had signed it) to refund the charges already incurred, and to take his labour for his pains.

Proteus Redivivus (republished in 1684) presents us with the Shopkeeper. "Methinks I see him, standing at his shop-door, in cold weather, either blowing his fingers, eagerly waiting (if he be a young man) for a kick at the foot-ball,

* Lives of the Poets, edit. 1810, vol. II. p. 74.

or

or basting his sides with his own hand; and so makes every cold day a Good Friday, to chastise him for the sins he hath committed. If any person pass by him, and but looks into his shop, he fondly imagines him a customer; and entreats for his own necessities, by asking others what they lack. If any chance to step in, he hath hocus tricks enough to delude them; and rarely shall they stir out (like sheep engaged in briers), but they shall leave some fleece behind them. Some have dark shops, with false lights, which wonderfully set off a commodity. Others (for want of that) make use of their tongues, arrogantly commending their own wares, and protesting whatever they exhibit to view is best in the town, though the worst in his shop; his words are (like his wares) twenty of one sort, and he goes over them alike to all comers."

The same authority informs us that the moderns have broken through a custom of their ancestors, and made *Monday* instead of *Saturday* a day of terror to their creditors. "A Saturday is the melancholiest part of the whole week, not so much by reason of the froppish and humersome planet which governs it, but by reason of too many insufferable duns, who tread the streets in terror; and that is the reason some citizens can as well be hanged as keep out of nine-pin houses in Moorfields on this day, to be out of the sight of those ghastly apparitions that haunt their ghost

at

at the heel of the week. Poverty and Necessity, the god of the Andreans, that could stop the mouth of Themistocles, cannot appease the wrath of a city creditor, whose empty money bag, twisted about his hand, is as killing as a Gorgon's head, and therefore it is well the poor man is out of the way, and is only practising those sports which are like to be his only livelihood in short time; and what a kindness it is for a man to be removed from the cares and labours of this world to the sweet pleasures of drinking, smoking, and other sportive recreations."

The prevalence of custom may be traced even into letter-writing; the manner and fashion of beginning and ending letters for two or three centuries might form a pleasing source of research. "After my hearty commendations" was for a long time common in the higher ranks of life, and of the reign of Queen Elizabeth I have seen letters begin thus: "Many months, Sir, have elapsed," &c., instead of the present mode, "Sir, Many," &c. Echard says, that in his time the young men of our universities counted it d——ble duncery and want of fancy to conclude a letter with your loving friend or humble servant, "therefore the young epistler is *yours to the antipodes,* or at least to the *centre of the earth;* and because ordinary folks love and respect you, therefore you are to him the pole-star, a Jacob's staff, a loadstone, and a damask rose."

From

From the moment money was coined from metal, it became the *custom* for depraved persons to imitate it; the more rude and shapeless the form, the easier the operation; the more debased the metal, the less the difficulty in deceiving during its circulation. There is nothing very pleasing to be derived from the history of Clippers, or those who reduced the real coin by cutting, for the value of the gold or silver, or *false* coiners; I shall therefore let the reader suppose the constant hostilities between the government, the police, and the coiners of antiquity, and confine myself to a presentment, made by the Grand Jury of London, and inserted in the London Gazette of Feb. 27, 1687.

"It having been humbly represented to his Majesty, that the Grand Juries for the city of London and county of Middlesex have of late made several presentments, and orders, tending to suppress the offences of clipping and false-coining; and that the presentment lately made at Justice Hall, in the Old Bailey, is as followeth, viz.

"We, the Grand Jury for the city of London, do present unto this Court the great mischief and prejudice which the trading body of this city, as well as the rest of the nation, do suffer, by the counterfeiting, diminishing, and embasing of the current coin of this kingdom, by clippers and false-coiners, who both improve daily in that their wicked art, and increase also in their numbers;

not-

notwithstanding that several of them are monthly brought to their tryal before this Court, and that many of them have of late suffered the sentence of the law, yet we find, by the sessions of gaol delivery for this city and county, that the said offenders continue still to be more numerous than those of any other kind: and that, as we conceive, in great measure, though the incouragement and connivance which they receive from petty tradesmen, pawn-brokers, and others, in and about this city, who wink at, aid, and assist such offenders, and their agents, by exchanging (for a little more than ordinary gain) of gold for silver, and of broad money for that which is clipped and diminished; therefore we present it as highly necessary, that all goldsmiths and others within the respective wards and liberties of this city, do make it their particular care, not only to refuse all counterfeit, newly-clipped, and diminished coin, in receiving and exchanging of money (especially in small sums, and from unknown or suspicious persons), but that they also cause such person or persons, uttering, or offering to be uttered, any such counterfeit, clipped, or diminished coin, to be forthwith brought before the next Justice of the Peace, to be duly and strictly examined touching the same. And we do hereby recommend it to our successors, the Grand Jury of this city, to make the said offence a constant part of their care and enquiry, since it tends so much

much to the damage of trade, and the disparagement of his Majesties coin.

" His Majesty, out of his princely care for the welfare of his people, that they be not wronged in the current coin of this kingdom, is graciously pleased to approve thereof; and hereby order and require, as well the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of the city of London, within their respective wards and liberties, as the Justices of Peace, and other magistrates and officers of the said county of Middlesex, to contribute all they can to answer the end of the said presentments, in suppressing of clippers and counterfeiters of the coin of this realm."

The London Gazette of March 23, 1685, furnishes two advertisements which have a strange and most reprehensible resemblance to each other. The deduction to be drawn from the perusal will be found highly honourable to the present times. " A tannymore (tawny-moor) with short bushy hair, very well shaped, in a grey livery lined with yellow, about seventeen or eighteen years of age, *with a silver collar about his neck, with these directions, Captain George Hasting's boy, Brigadier in the King's Horse Guards.* " Whoever brings him to the Sugar-loaf in the Pall-Mall, shall have 40 s. reward."

" Lost, the 12th instant, from the Earl of Burlington, on the road between his house and Hyde-park, a liver-coloured spaniel, *a brass collar, with the Earl of Burlington's name engraved on it,*

&c. &c. Whoever gives notice, &c. shall have a guinea reward."

Little need be said in reprobation of the above (I hope) solitary instance of the turpitude of fashionable customs, and the following extract will speak for itself of one peculiar to a less exalted class of the community.

" Whereas it has been represented to his Majesty, that by reason of the frequent abuses of a lewd sort of people, called Spirits, in seducing many of his Majesty's subjects to go on shipboard, where they have been seized and carried by force to his Majesties plantations in America, and that many idle persons who have listed themselves voluntarily to be transported thither, and have received money upon their entring into service for that purpose, have afterwards pretended they were betrayed, and carried away against their wills, and procured their friends to prosecute the merchants who transported them, or in whose service they are, by indictments, or informations in the Crown Office in his Majesties name, which is a great discouragement to them, and an hindrance to the management of the trade of the said plantations, and navigation of this kingdom; and several merchants and planters having made humble applications to his Majesty, that he would be graciously pleased to direct such methods for their retaining of servants to serve in his Majesties plantations as in his royal wisdom he should think meet,

meet, whereby his Majesty may be so satisfied of their fair dealing as to take off all prosecutions against them at his Majesties suit; and also that the scandal that now lies upon them in general, by reason of such evil-disposed persons, may not remain upon such as shall for the future follow such methods as his Majesty shall think fit to be pursued;

"His Majesty, taking into his royal consideration the said request, is graciously pleased to declare, that such merchants, factors, masters of ships, or other persons, that shall use the method hereafter following, in the hiring of servants for his Majesties plantations, shall not be disquieted by any suit on his Majesties behalf; but upon certificate thereof, that he will cause all such suits to be stopped, to the end they may receive no further molestation thereby.

"I. Such servants as are to be taken by indenture, to be executed by the servant, in the presence of the magistrate or magistrates hereafter appointed; one part thereof signed by such servant, and also under-written or endorsed with the name and hand-writing of such magistrate, which is to remain with the Clerk of the Peace, to be returned to the next sessions, there to be filed upon a distinct file, and numbered, and kept with the records.

"II. The Clerk of the Peace is to keep a fair book, wherein the name of the person so bound,

and the magistrates name before whom the same was done, and the time and place of doing thereof, and the number of the file shall be entred: and for the more easie finding the same, the entries are to be made alphabetically, according to the first letter of the sirname.

"III. All persons above the age of one and twenty years, or who shall, upon view and examination, appear to be so in the judgment of the magistrate, may be bound in the presence of one Justice of the Peace, or of the Mayor or chief Magistrate of the place where they shall go on shipboard, who is to be fully satisfied from him of his free and voluntary agreement to enter into the said service.

"IV. If any person be under the age of one and twenty years, or shall appear so to be, he shall be bound in the presence of the Lord Mayor of London, or one of the Judges, or an Alderman of London, being a Justice of Peace, or the Recorder, or two Justices of the Peace of any other county or place, who shall carefully examine whether the person so to be bound have any parents or masters; and if he be not free, they are not to take such indenture, unless the parents or masters give their consents, and some person that knows the said servant to be of the name and addition mentioned in the indenture is to attest his said knowledge upon the said indenture.

"V. If

" V. If the person be under the age of fourteen years, unless his parents shall be present, and consent, he is not to be carried on shipboard, till a fortnight at least after he becomes bound, to the intent that if there be any abuse, it may be discovered before he be transported. And where his parents do not appear before the magistrate, notice is to be sent to them; or where they cannot be found, to the churchwardens or overseers of the parish where he was last settled, in such manner as the said magistrates shall think fit and direct.

" And because Clerks of the Peace may conceive this not to be any part of the duty of their office, and may therefore exact unreasonable rewards for their trouble and pains therein, his Majesty doth declare, that if any merchants or other persons shall be aggrieved thereby, and upon complaint to the Justices, cannot obtain relief, his Majesty will take such further care for their ease herein, as in his royal wisdom he shall think meet.

" And his Majesties further pleasure is, that this order be printed and published, to the end all persons whom it may concern may take notice thereof, and govern themselves accordingly.

" W. BRIDGEMAN."

I shall have occasion hereafter to introduce the fraternity of Quacks to the notice of my readers through the medium of their own advertisements, and shall now prepare the way by giving the ensuing

suing excellent sketch from one of Hippocrates Ridens, May 17, 1686.

" His sagacity is remarkable, for he hath found out an art both to conceal his own ignorance, and impose on that of other folks to his own advantage; his prime care and greatest concern is, to get the names of diseases without book, and a bead-roll of rattling terms of art, which he desires only to *remember*, not to *understand;* so that he has more hard words than a juggler, and uses them to the same purpose, viz. to amuse and beguile the mobile, first of their senses, and next of their pence. Thus when people acquaint him with their grief, and their ails, though he know what the disease is no more than a horse, he tells them 'tis a scorbutick humour, caus'd by a defluxion from the os sacrum afflicting the diaphragma and cricoary thenoidal muscles, proceeding from heats and colds, with which the poor souls are abundantly satisfy'd, and wonder he should hit upon their distemper so exactly. He undertakes to spy out diseases whilst they are yet lurking in their remotest causes; has an excellent talent in persuading well people they are sick, and by giving them his trash verifies the prediction and is sure to make them so. When he walks the streets (which is with a Spanish grayity), if he light upon a well-dressed woman, with a child in her arms, he stops on a sudden, and clapping his hand on his breast to witness his sincerity,

cerity, cries, 'Ah! sweet babe, what pity 'tis it should be lost for want of looking after!' The good dame being frighted, a confederate that follows comes up, and asks what the gentleman said? Tells her he knows him by sight, and that he is one of the ablest doctors in the kingdom, especially for women and children; and withall, acquaints her with his lodging; away troops she next morning, and purchases not only a dose for her child, but for herself too; for I never yet knew a female but ail'd something when she came in presence of a doctor."

December 1688 was a most important æra in the history of Great Britain, caused by the abdication of James II. When it became generally known that the King had fled, the populace recurred to their favourite custom of expressing their political opinions by the labour of their hands, and accordingly we find them employed in the manner described in the succeeding extracts from the English Courant and London Mercury.

"*London, December* 12.—No sooner was the King's withdrawing known, but the mobile consulted to wreak their vengeance on papists and popery; and last night began with pulling down and burning the new-built Mass-house near the arch, in Lincoln's Inn fields; thence they went to Wild-house, the residence of the Spanish Ambassador, where they ransackt, destroy'd, and burnt

burnt all the ornamental and inside part of the chappel, some cart-loads of choice books, manuscripts, &c. And not content here, some villanous thieves and common rogues, no doubt, that took this opportunity to mix with the youth, and they plunder'd the Ambassador's house of plate, jewels, mony, rich goods, &c.; and also many other who had sent in there for shelter their money, plate, &c.; among which, one gentlewoman lost a trunk, in which was £800. in mony, and a great quantity of plate. Thence they went to the Mass-house at St. Jones's, near Smithfield, demolisht it quite; from thence to Blackfryers near the Ditchside, where they destroy'd Mr. Henry Hills printing-house, spoil'd his forms, letters, &c. and burnt 2 or 300 reams of paper, printed and unprinted; thence to the Mass-house in Bucklersbury and Lime-street, and there demolisht and burnt as before; and this night they pulled down the resident of Florences Chappel in the Haymarket, where a company of the Middlesex militia, commanded by one Captain Douglas, a cheesemonger, was killed as thought by one of his own men, whom he commanded to fire upon the rabble; thence they went to the Nuncio's, and other places at that end of the town; but finding the birds flown, and bills on the door, they drew off; thence they went into the city, threatning to pull down all papists houses, particularly one in Ivy-lane, and the market house

upon

upon Newgate Market, for no other reason but that one Burdet, a papist, was one of the farmers of the market; but by the prudence of the citizens and some of the trained-bands, they were got off without mischief doing any where."

"Tuesday night last, and all Wednesday, the apprentices were busie in pulling down the chappels, and spoiling the houses of papists; they crying out the fire should not go out till the Prince of Orange came to town. There were thousands of them on Wednesday at the Spanish Ambassador's, they not leaving any wainscoat withinside the house or chappel, taking away great quantities of plate, with much money, household goods and writings, verifying the old proverb, 'All fish that came to the net.' The spoil of the house was very great, divers papists having sent their goods in thither, as judging that the securest place.

"Then they went to the Lord Powis's great house in Lincoln's Inn fields, wherein was a guard, and a bill upon the door, 'This house is appointed for the Lord Delamere's quarters;' and some of the company crying, Let it alone, the Lord Powis was against the Bishops going to the Tower, they offered no violence to it.

"Afterwards they marched down the Strand with oranges upon their sticks, crying for the Prince of Orange, and went to the Pope's Nuncio's, but finding a bill upon the door, 'This house

house is to be let,' they desisted. Lastly, they did some damage to the house of the Resident of the Duke of Tuscany, in the Haymarket, carrying away some of his goods, when one Captain Douglas, coming thither with a company of trained bands to suppress them, a soldier, unadvisedly firing at the boys with ball, shot the Captain through the back, of which he lyes languishing. They also went to the houses of the French and other Ambassadors, but finding them deserted, and the landlords giving them money, they marched off.

"On Thursday, an order of the Lords coming forth, warning all persons to desist from pulling down any house, especially those of the Ambassadors, upon penalty of the utmost severity of the law to be inflicted on them; since which they have been very quiet."

The Prince of Orange is said to have gamed in public at the Groom Porters soon after his arrival, and had the good fortune to win 500 guineas, one hundred of which he immediately presented to —— Neale, Esquire, who held that office, placing the remainder in the custody of the Heer Bentinck, to be applied to charitable purposes.

The London Gazette of October 28, 1689, relates the circumstances of the royal visit to the city in that year in these words:

"*London, October* 29.—This day Sir Thomas Pilkington being continued Lord Mayor for the

the year ensuing was, according to custom, sworn before the Barons of the Exchequer at Westminster, whither he went by water, accompanied by the Aldermen and the several Companies, in their respective barges, adorned with flags and streamers; passing by Whitehall they payd their obeisance to their Majesties, who were in their apartment on the water-side. The river was covered with boats, and the noise of drums and trumpets, and several sorts of musick, with the firing of great guns, and the repeated huzza's of such a multitude of people, afforded a very agreeable entertainment. And their Majesties, the Prince and Princess of Denmark, and the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons assembled in Parliament, having been pleased to accept of an humble invitation from the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Common Council, to dine in the city on this day, about noon their Majesties came, attended by his Royal Highness, all the great Officers of the Court, and a numerous train of nobility and gentry in their coaches, the militia of London and Westminster making a lane for them, the balconies all along their passage being richly hung with tapistry, and filled with spectators, and the people in great crowds expressing their joy with loud and continued acclamations. Their Majesties were pleased from a balcony prepared for them in Cheapside to see the shew; which, for the great numbers of the citizens of the

the several guilds attending in their formalities, the full appearance of the artillery company, the rich adornments of the pageants, and hieroglyphical representations, and the splendor and good order of the whole proceeding, out-did all that has been heretofore seen in this city upon the like occasions; but that which deserves to be particularly mentioned was the royal city regiment of volonteer horse, which being richly and gallantly accoutred, and led by the Right Honourable the Earl of Monmouth, attended their Majesties from Whitehall into the city. The cavalcade being passed by, the King and Queen were conducted by the two Sheriffs to the Guildhall, where their Majesties, both houses of Parliament, the Privy Counsellors, the Judges, the ladies of the bedchamber, and other ladies of the chiefest quality, dined at several tables; and the grandeur and magnificence of the entertainment was suitable to so august and extraordinary a presence. Their Majesties were extreamly pleased, and as a mark thereof, the King conferred the honour of knighthood upon Christopher Lithiullier and John Houblon, Esquires, the present Sheriffs, as also upon Edward Clark and Francis Child, two of the Aldermen. In the evening their Majesties returned to Whitehall with the same state they came. The militia again lined the streets, the city regiments as far as Temple-bar, and the red and blue regiments of Middlesex and Westminster

from

from thence to Whitehall, the soldiers having at convenient distances lighted flambeaux in their hands; the houses were all illuminated, the bells ringing, and nothing was omitted through the whole course of this day's solemnity, either by the magistrates or people, that might shew their respect or veneration, as well as their dutiful affection and loyalty to their Majesties, and the sense they have of the happiness they enjoy under their most benign and gracious government."

This Monarch published an order on the third of April 1690, that the form of prayer, prepared by his command for the fast-day just then passed, should continue to be used on the respective fast-days appointed to be solemnly kept *every third Wednesday of the month* during the war.

Fortunately for the peace of society, the custom of forcibly seizing upon heiresses, in order to compel them into improper marriages, never was very prevalent, and is, I hope, now entirely suppressed: the laws of the country are justifiably severe on this subject, and the government has at all times been ready and forward to protect the sufferer; an instance illustrative of that readiness occurred in 1690, when William and Mary issued the ensuing proclamation.

"WILLIAM R.

"Whereas we have received information, that James Campbel, commonly called Captain Campbel, Archibald Montgomery, and Sir John Johnstone,

stone, together with divers other ill-disposed persons, designing to ravish, and against her will to marry, Mary Wharton, only child of Philip Wharton, Esq. being a virgin of great estate, and of about the age of thirteen years, for that purpose did arm and assemble themselves, and having found an opportunity on Friday the fourteenth day of this instant November in the evening, at Great Queen-street, did, in a forcible manner, seize upon the said Mary Wharton, and carried her away; we have therefore thought fit (by the advice of our Privy Council) to issue our Royal Proclamation; and we do hereby command and require all our loving subjects to discover, take and apprehend, the said James Campbell, Archibald Montgomery, Sir John Johnston, and all other their confederates wherever they may be found, and to carry them before the next Justice of the Peace or chief Magistrate; whom we do hereby require to commit them to the next gaol. And we do also hereby give notice to all persons that shall be aiding or assisting in the concealing of the said James Campbell, Archibald Montgomery, Sir John Johnston, or any of their confederates, or furthering their, or any of their escape, that they shall be proceeded against for such their offence, with the utmost rigour and severity according to law.

"Given at our Court at Whitehall the fifteenth day of November 1690, in the second year of our reign."

This

This was followed by a Proclamation against vicious, debauched, and profane persons.

"WILLIAM R.

"As we cannot but be deeply sensible of the great goodness and mercy of Almighty God (by whom Kings reign) in giving so happy success to our endeavours for the rescuing these kingdoms from popish tyranny and superstition, and in preserving our royal persons, supporting our government, and uniting the arms of most of the princes and states in Christendom against our common enemy: so we are not less touched with a resentment, that (notwithstanding these great deliverances) impiety and vice do still abound in this our kingdom; and that the execution of many good laws, which have been made for suppressing and punishing thereof, have been grossly neglected, to the great dishonour of God and our holy religion: wherefore, and for that we cannot expect increase or continuance of the blessings we and our subjects enjoy, without providing remedies to prevent the like evils for the future, we judge ourselves bound, by the duty we owe to God, and the care we have of the people committed to our charge, to proceed in taking some effectual course therein; and being thereunto moved by the pious address of our Archbishops and Bishops, we have thought fit, by the advice of our Privy Council, to issue this our Royal Proclamation, and do declare our princely intention

and

and resolution, to discountenance all manner of vice and immorality in all persons from the highest to the lowest degree in this our realm. And we do hereby for that purpose straightly require, charge and command all and singular our Judges, Mayors, Sheriffs, Justices of the Peace, and all other our officers ecclesiastical and civil, in their respective stations, to prosecute the laws against blasphemy, profane swearing and cursing, drunkenness, lewdness, profanation of the Lord's day, or any other dissolute, immoral or disorderly practices, as they will answer it to Almighty God, and upon pain of our highest displeasure. And for the more effectual proceedings herein, we do hereby direct and command our Judges of Assizes, and Justices of Peace, to give strict charges at the respective Assizes and Sessions, for the due prosecution and punishment of all persons that shall presume to offend in any the kinds aforesaid; and also of all persons that, contrary to their duty, shall be remiss or negligent in putting the said laws in execution.

"Given at our Court, at Whitehall, the one-and-twentieth day of January, 1601-2, in the Third Year of Our Reign."

Some of the inhabitants of London included in the above Proclamation, had the hardiness to endeavour all in their power to deprive the proprietors of the "light Royal," and the publick of the advantages to be derived from their distribution.

tribution throughout the city. In many instances, they broke them by the usual means; but at the Exchange, and in Cornhill, they fired at the lamps with bullets—one of which had nearly been fatal to a person near a window the moment it was discharged.

The custom of tolling a church-bell the moment of the decease of any person (termed, from this circumstance, the passing-bell), to invite the prayers of the publick for the repose of the soul of the departed, and the funeral-bell, are of great antiquity: but the London Gazette of February 18, 1694, contains the first instance I have met with of a royal command to toll the biggest bell in every cathedral, collegiate, and parochial church of England and Wales, from nine till ten in the morning, from two till three, and from five till six, on the 5th of March, the day appointed for the interment of queen Mary.

Hackney coaches were admitted into Hyde Park before the year 1694; but were expelled at that period, through the singular circumstance of some persons of distinction having been insulted by several women, in masks, riding there in that description of vehicle. At the same instant, the gambling traders of London were daily assembling about the Royal Exchange, offering £.30 to receive £.100, provided the city and castle of Namur were taken before the last of September in the above year; and another de-

scription of adventurers were circulating the following Proposals, which I insert as the precursor of the schemes which distinguished the year 1720.

"From the Undertakers of the Royal Academy.

"Finding a general approbation of the design of our late Proposals for establishing a Royal Academy here in town, which notwithstanding has met with some difficulties, by reason of the great number of scholars we proposed to be taught; as also because some persons scrupled the security of performance, and others the word Lottery, or the method of being admitted by a fortuitous way of drawing; we have, therefore, to obviate all possible objections, thought fit to alter our former, and advance these new Proposals:

"First, That most of the best Masters in town shall still be retained by us, to teach the following Arts and Sciences:

Languages—French, Latin, and Greek.

Writing and Accompts.

Mathematicks, in all their parts.

Musick—Organ, Harpsichord, Lute, Guittar, the Orboe, Viol, Violin, and Flute.

Singing.

Dancing.

Fencing, Wrestling, Vaulting.

"The Scholars in these Arts and Sciences are to be of two sorts:

"First,

"First, Externs, who shall come to our Academies, and be taught three times a week, and three hours at a time, in any one of the abovesaid Arts or Sciences; having power to change as often as they please, and learn any other, paying 5 *s.* for every such exchange; the rates payable by Externs are only £.6 per annum, whereof one half is to be advanced at their admittance, the other half at the half-year's end. The number to be thus admitted into both our Academies is, at present, designed to be only 500.

"Secondly, Academicks, who shall dyet, have chambers and necessary attendance, in the Academies, under the care and government of the Governour and Masters living in the house. These also shall learn one Science at a time, and be taught the whole week, for £.30 per annum, at two payments as above; or £.50 per annum for them and their servant, paying also 5 *s.* for every time they exchange one Science for another. If either Academicks or Externs would be taught more than one Science at a time, they shall learn as many as they please at 30 *s.* per quarter each. The number of these is designed to be only 100: in all, 600.

"And if any of our Scholars should be in the least dissatisfy'd, or have any extraordinary business to divert 'em from their studies, they shall be at liberty to sell, assign, and transfer, their right to any other person, who thereby shall be

capable of the same privileges; or (if they please) shall, at any quarter's end, deduct the remaining part of their monies out of the stock.

"We require not a present advance of any monies, but only a subscription of the name, and place of abode, of every one that designs to learn; and, so soon as the Subscription Books are full, publick notice shall be given, for every intended Schollar, their Parents, or Guardians, to meet at one of our Academies, and choose among themselves Five Persons as Trustees, and Representatives of all the rest, into whose hands the subscription money shall be paid; they giving us security, that it shall be immediately put forth into the Royal Bank, or some where else, where it may lye ready for the necessary uses and ends designed and mentioned in our Proposals.

"And for fear the said Subscription-money should fall short (by misconception, or some unforeseen accident), the Undertakers will also, at the same time, give the said Trustees the farther security of £.3000, for a just and full performance of the undertaking.

"The office of these Trustees will be to assist the Undertakers in a Committee (to be called every month), where they shall have equal power with the Undertakers themselves, to hear all complaints, regulate all disorders, and make such good Laws and Constitutions as may be for the interest and

and reputation both of the Schollars and the Design. The care and attendance of these Trustees will be considered out of the publick stock.

"Every rational person may easily compute, that 'tis not any present considerable interest that now engages us in this affair, the rates of teaching being here reduced to less than one half what is commonly paid to the meanest masters, reckoning one Science with another; but because his Majesty has been graciously pleased to promise, that, so soon as it shall please God to bless us with a peace, he will very considerably encourage the design; and, in the mean time, has given us £1000, towards the building of a very large and noble Academy, in some convenient place near the town; we, therefore, intend to begin to build, as soon as these Subscriptions are compleated; and will only, at present, take two Academies (one near the Royal Exchange; the other, in or near Covent Garden), for the present ease and convenience of the town; which *two Academies* shall be converted into that *one*, which we design to build.

"In this great Academy we are going to build, and upon which will be settled a handsome fund to maintain it for ever, will be taught Riding, and all other Arts and Sciences now known in Europe, and by the best Masters which can possibly be be procured (allowing 'em very advantagious sallaries),

sallaries), that every Art may meet with its due encouragement and improvement.

"But of this New Foundation we shall have occasion to speak more at large in a very little time; for the number of our Subscribers being so few, and the Terms of Teaching so very advantagious, we doubt not but the Subscriptions will soon be full.

"The Subscription Books are now open: one of 'em at our Office on the West end of the Royal Exchange, just under the Oughtroper's office; the other, at the Musick-room in Charles-street, in Covent-garden; where attendance will be given every Munday, Wednesday, and Friday, at the Exchange; and every Tuesday, Thursday, and Saturday, at Covent-garden; from one till five o'clock.

"Also most of the Masters engaged in our former Proposals have each his Book for Subscriptions, to the same end."

In the following year, the bishop of Rochester received several letters, threatening his life, if he did not deposit money, in a place mentioned, between Kent-street and Bromley. The lords justices, who had the administration of affairs during the king's absence from England, offered the usual reward for the apprehension of the party offending, but with what success I am not acquainted; nor whether this horrid method of robbing

robbing was extended beyond the present instance.

The stock-jobbers adopted a plan in 1695, almost as iniquitous as incendiary letters—which was, their appearing at the Exchange with the offer of any number of guineas, not exceeding 1000, at the price of 27*s.* each. This immediately operated, and "did not a little damp and lower the current price;" which is mentioned by Salusbury, in his Flying Post, my authority on this occasion; "but a merchant (he continues) taking one of those stock-jobbers at his price, and demanding where they were deposited, he could produce no more than two single guineas in his pocket; which was looked upon as a plain indication of their sinister design: upon which, he was cudgelled from among the merchants, and left to be buffeted by the mob. Yet this did not deter others from practising the like; for another of the gang did proffer guineas a shilling cheaper, but was soon beaten off the Exchange, and a swift pursuit made after him by the mob; who drew him out of the sanctuary of a neighbouring tavern, and haled him to the lord mayor's; but his lordship not being at home, they threatened to do justice on him themselves, by cooling his violent ardour of avarice with a watery element of a neighbouring pump. Upon the discovery of this fallacy of the stock-jobbers, guineas began to advance to their customary price."

It

It would be well worthy the considertion of the moral part of the community, whether resolutions, similar to the following, might not be of infinite advantage at present. I am, however, certain every friend of purity of manners must applaud the commissioners for building St. Paul's, and sir Christopher Wren, for affixing these words to different parts of the structure: "Whereas, among labourers, &c. that ungodly custom of swearing is too frequently heard, to the dishonour of God, and contempt of authority; and to the end, therefore, that such impiety may be utterly banished from these works, intended for the service of God, and the honour of religion. It is ordered, That customary swearing shall be a sufficient crime to dismiss any labourer that comes to the call; and the clerk of the works, upon sufficient proof, shall dismiss them accordingly. And if any master, working by task, shall not, upon admonition, reform this profanation among his apprentices, servants, and labourers, it shall be construed his fault; and he shall be liable to be censured by the commissioners. Dated the 25th of September, 1695."

The various shades of depravity observable in the above particulars seem to be eclipsed by the operations of a young woman (aged [illegible] when apprehended), who declared she had, in eleven years, purloined goods to the amount of nearly £.10,000. She was well known, and called the Queen

Queen of Sheba; yet such was her address in shop-lifting, that she escaped, during the astonishing period already mentioned. "Some days ago," says the Flying Post, of October 24, 1695, "a spark of the town hired a fine house in Portugal-row, in Lincoln's-inn-fields, which had a back retreat, behind the buildings, near the play-house; and giving out that he was newly married to a lady of great fortune, and repairing to Mr. C——, a jeweller in the city, did so far create a belief of the reality of the affair in the said jeweller, as to engage him to bring to his house £.500 worth of his choicest commodity, next morning; where he was conducted into a stately dining-room. The spark came forth of his withdrawing apartment, and, viewing the jewels, desired leave to shew them to his wife, in her bed-chamber; but no sooner had the sweet purchase in his possession, but descends a bye pair of stairs, and made off, without being ever since heard off; leaving the jeweller, at leisure, to bewail both his credulity and misfortune." This paragraph, and the Queen of Sheba, demonstrate, that dexterity in stealing, and contrivance in swindling, had arrived at a tolerable degree of perfection in the reign of William III.; which may be accompanied by another artifice, practised by two persons, named Peck and Holford, who are said (in the Post Boy), to have sent a circular letter, thus worded, to most of the principal goldsmiths in London—

London — "Sir, Whereas you have sustained a great damage, by a person coming to your shop, I thought it convenient to give you notice; and if you please to meet me at the Three Tuns Tavern, on Snow-hill, I shall give you a further account — not only you, but some others of your trade; so you will all meet together, for it is a thing of great consequence and damage to you, which you are not sensible of. Pray keep this note to yourself, and let nobody see it; for what is stole from you, is sold to some others of your trade." It may be perceived, that these men were by no means adepts in their profession; and it appears some of the jewellers thought the same; for viewing the letter as intended to extort money, a constable accompanied them to the interview, who apprehended Peck and Holford; and conveying those persons to the lord mayor that magistrate bound them over to answer the charges which might be preferred at the next sessions of the peace.

The January following the last transaction was distinguished by an outrage highly disgraceful to the person who committed it. "Sir Harry Duttoncolt," observes the Flying Post, for January 11, 1696, "a justice of peace, was dangerously wounded on Saturday night, about 12 o'clock, by one Mr. Fielding — the occasion as follows. Madam Fielding's maid desired a warrant from the said justice against her mistress, for her wages; with

with which Sir Henry did very civilly acquaint Madam Fielding, who promised to discharge it; but by the same not being performed, and Mr. Fielding returning from France, the maid renewed her application for a warrant; with which Sir Henry acquainted Mr. Fielding, who promised either to pay the maid, or give a recognizance to pay at the sessions, but failed in both; so that, upon fresh application by the maid, Sir Henry granted her a warrant; but Mr. Fielding resisted the constable who came to execute the same, and, meeting Sir Henry afterwards, told him he had given a recognizance to another justice, and would bring a *certiorari* to remove it; whereupon Sir Henry went to the lord chief justice, and obtained a *procedenda*; so that Mr. Fielding found himself obliged to pay it; and happening to be with Sir Henry, at the dutchess of Mazarine's, he followed him to the street; and, attacking him, Sir Henry's sword broke in the re-incounter; and Mr. Fielding, continuing to push, run Sir Henry through the shoulder; but, the sword being intangled in his cloaths, Sir Henry catcht hold of it, and broke it off together with his own; and in the mean time Mr. Fielding escaped."

The house lately taken down (called the Bowling-green House), situated in the field North of the Foundling-hospital, was a place of great resort in 1696, and notorious as the haunt of gamesters.

gamesters. In the month of March, in the above year, this house was suddenly surrounded by king's messengers, a party of soldiers, and several constables, who seized every person within it, and conveyed them to a justice of the peace, "who tendered them the oaths; some of which took them, and others refused, chusing rather to pay their forty shillings apiece, according to the statute made and provided in that case."

Another swindler was apprehended in this year, who possessed the art of deceiving in a supereminent degree: her name was Jane Smithers, alias Cox. When under examination before Justice Negus, she assumed the character of an innocent country girl with such success, and so gaffered and gammered the magistrate and his lady, that the former had almost consented to liberate her; but was prevented by the most positive evidence. One of her favourite schemes was the personation of a young lady from the country, of ample fortune; and, when she had attracted the notice of a credulous rich man, she contrived to invent some plausible story to procure a supply of money, to be repaid by her hand and purse.

A transaction of rather more turpitude caused the succeeding whimsical and good-humoured advertisement, which is extracted from Salusbury's Flying Post, of October 27, 1696: "Whereas six gentlemen (all of the same honourable profession),

fession), having been more than ordinary put to it for a little pocket-money, did, on the 14th instant, in the evening, near Kentish town, borrow of two persons (in a coach) a certain sum of money, without staying to give bond for the re-payment: And whereas fancy was taken to the hat, peruke, cravat, sword, and cane, of one of the creditors, which were all lent as freely as the money: these are, therefore, to desire the said six worthies, how fond soever they may be of the other loans, to un-fancy the cane again, and send it to Wells's coffee-house, in Scotland-yard; it being too short for any such proper gentlemen as they are to walk with, and too small for any of their important uses; and withal, only valuable as having been the gift of a friend."

Sir William Temple says (vol. I. p. 268), "I think I remember, within less than fifty years, the first noble families that married into the city for money; and thereby introduced, by degrees, this public grievance, which has since ruined so many estates, by the necessity of giving great portions to daughters; impaired many families, by the weak or mean productions of marriages, made without any of that warmth and spirit that is given 'em by force of inclination and personal choice, and extinguished many great ones, by the aversion of the persons who should have continued 'em."

The custom of going to "*see the lions*" at the Tower,

Tower, prevailed more than an hundred years past; when the following intimation was issued: "All persons whom it may concern are desired to take notice, That the master keeper of his Majesty's lion-office, in the Tower of London, is informed, that several persons do expose to publick view several wild beasts, against his Majesty's prerogative royal, and a prohibition given and published to the contrary, as in the words following—'That no person whatsoever (except Thomas Dymocke, and the keeper of his Majesty's lions for the time being) do for the future carry abroad, or expose to publick view, for their own private gain, any lions, lionesses, leopards, &c. or other beasts which are *feræ naturæ*, as they will answer the contrary at their perils.' There is now a convenient place made at the lion-office, in the Tower, for the shewing of that strange and wonderful beast, called a hyena, brought from Aleppo—the beast never seen in England before: he hath such great strength, that he breaks the biggest of ox-bones, and eats them. This is the beast that Gesner, Pliny, and many others, have so much written of. There is also to be seen the large lioness and the jackall, presented to his Majesty by the right honourable the earl of Orford; as also the large tyger, brought from the East Indies."

Several of the preceding illustrations of manners describe the means by which the depraved and

and wicked accomplished their purposes, and intimate the probable termination of their schemes by the ordinary course of justice. The laws, however, were not the only security the publick possessed; as a part of it, at least, imagined the *planets* sometimes interfered in checking the progress of vice—an instance of which appears in the Flying Post, of June 3, 1697:

"At the Hermaphrodites house, by St. George's-fields in Southwark, four of the apprentices or servants, which that person keeps in her musick-house, and brings 'em up to musick, dancing, &c. were taken ill on Wednesday last all of a sudden: the first, a lad of about fourteen years of age, whose breath stunk so intolerably that a maiden of about fifteen, who put him to bed upon his falling ill, complained that she was struck by it, and fell also ill. After which, two more of the boys were taken with the same distemper; and another girl, of about nine years of age, is also indisposed. Yesterday, the lad that was first taken ill died, having first voided an incredible number of worms, some of them as big as small eels, and all of them extraordinary sharp and peked at the ends. The other three, who keep their bed, do also void worms both ways; and we hear, that though remedies have been applied, and the advice of a physician taken (who, we are informed, says they are *planet-struck*), the young maid, and two of the boys, are given over as past recovery;

recovery; and look very ghastly, though plump and well-favoured before this happened. Whether this be a natural distemper, or a warning to such houses, we leave it to others to judge."

Such was the interference of the planets. I shall now turn the reader's attention to one more decidedly visible and certain on the part of the mob—that generous and eccentric redresser of wrongs. A porter's lady, we are informed by the Protestant Mercury, who resided near Strand-lane, beat her husband with so much violence and perseverance, that the poor man was compelled to leap out of a window, to escape her fury. Exasperated at this virago, the neighbours made what Dawks, the editor, called a "*Riding*;" or, I suppose, a pedestrian procession, headed by a drum, and accompanied by a displayed *chemise* for a banner: the manual musician sounded the tune of—"You round-headed cuckolds, come dig, come dig;" and nearly seventy coal-heavers, carmen, and porters, adorned with large horns fastened to their heads, followed. The public seemed highly pleased with the nature of the punishment, and gave liberally to the vindicators of injured manhood. Actuated by a similar wish to extirpate vice, several individuals exerted themselves to suppress swearing, houses of ill-fame, and selling meat on Sundays; but the want of a systematic and general opposition to these encroachments made their efforts quite as

futile,

futile, though not as whimsical, as the expedient of the coal-heavers; and this is still further proved in the following letter, addressed by the bishop of London to the clergy of his diocese.

"GOOD BROTHER, *December* 15, 1697.

"Having been informed from several hands, That His Majesty's Injunctions of February the 13th, 1689–90, have not been observed of late (in such a manner, at least, as is enjoyned); I thought it my duty to admonish you of this neglect. And the rather at this time, because His Majesty has declared in his Speech to both Houses of Parliament, That, now he has leisure to be with us, one of his chief cares shall be, to suppress Profaneness and Immorality. And would it not be a shameful reproach to us (a great part of whose business it ought to be, continually to watch against such sins), to be found tardy in those opportunities, which the laws have given us to warn people of their wicked courses? You are to take notice likewise, That, since His Majesty's Injunctions, there is another Act come out, for the more effectual suppressing Prophane Cursing and Swearing, 5 and 6 Will. III. c. 11, to be read likewise.

"I could wish with all my heart, that the late silence of those Acts and Proclamations, contained in these Injunctions, proceeded from so

thorow a reformation in manners, that there were no more need to mention them.

"Sir,

"Your most assured Friend,

"and Brother,

"H. London."

To conclude this section of my work with due effect, I shall present the reader with a positive proof of the partial brutality of manners existing at the close of the 17th century, from The Post Boy.

"An Elegy upon that most orthodox and painstaking Divine, Mr. Samuel Smith, Ordinary of Newgate; who died of a Quinsey, on St. Bartholomew's Day, the 24th of August, 1698.

"Tyburn, lament, in pensive sable mourn,
For from the world thy ancient Priest is torn;
Death, cruel Death, thy learn'd Divine has ended,
And by a quinsey from his place suspended.
Thus he expir'd in his old occupation,
And, as he liv'd, he dy'd by suffocation.
Thou Reverend Pillar of the Triple Tree,
I wou'd say Post, for it was propt by thee;
Thou Penny-Chronicler of hasty fate,
Death's Annalist, Reformer of the State,
Cut-throat of Texts, and Chaplain of the Halter,
In whose sage presence Vice itself did falter.

How

How many Criminals, by thee assisted,
Old Smith, have been most orthodoxly twisted!
And when they laboured with a dying qualm,
Were decently suspended to a psalm.
How oft hast thou set harden'd Rogues a squeaking,
By urging the great sin of Sabbath-breaking;
And sav'd Delinquents from Old Nick's embraces,
By flashing fire and brimstone in their faces!
Thou wast a Gospel Smith, and after sentence,
Brought'st Sinners to the anvil of Repentance;
And tho' they prov'd obdurate at the Sessions,
Could'st hammer out of them most strange Confessions:
When Plate was stray'd, and Silver Spoons were missing,
And Chamber maid betray'd by Judas kissing.
Thy Christian bowels cheerfully extended
Towards such, as by their Mammon were befriended.
Tho' Culprit in enormous acts was taken,
Thou wouldst devise a way to save his bacon;
And if his purse could bleed a half pistole,
Legit, my Lord, he reads upon my soul.
Spite of thy charity to dying wretches,
Some fools wou'd live to bilk thy Gallows Speeches;
But who'd refuse, that has a taste of writing,
To hang, for one learn'd Speech of thy enditing.

Thou always hadst a conscientious itching,
To rescue Penitents from Pluto's kitchin;
And hast committed upon many a soul
A pious theft, but so St. Austin stole;
And shoals of Robbers, purg'd of sinful leaven,
By thee were set in the high road to Heaven.
With several Mayors hast thou eat beef and mustard,
And frail mince-pyes, and transitory custard.
But now that learned head in dust is lay'd,
Which has so sweetly sung, and sweetly pray'd;
Yet tho' thy outward man is gone and rotten,
Thy better part shall never be forgotten.
While Newgate is a mansion for good fellows,
And Sternhold's rhymes are murder'd at the gallows;
While Holborn Cits at executions gape,
And Cut-purse follow'd is by Man of Crape;
While Grub-street Muse, in garrets most sublime,
Trafficks in doggrel, and aspires to rhime;
Thy deathless name and memory shall reign,
From fam'd St. Giles to Smithfield and Duck-lane.
But since thy death does general sorrow give,
We hope thou in thy Successor will live;
Newgate and Tyburn jointly give their votes,
Thou may'st succeeded be by Doctor Otes."

Much will be said in the Anecdotes of the 18th Century concerning Private Lotteries. At present

present it will be sufficient to give, "A Dialogue betwixt the New Lotteries and the Royal Oak," as it appeared in the Post Boy, of January 3, 1698.

"A Dialogue betwixt the New Lotteries and the Royal Oak.

"*New Lot.* To You, the Mother of our Schools,
Where Knaves by licence manage Fools,
Finding fit juncture and occasion,
To pick the pockets of the nation;
We come to know how we must treat 'em,
And to their heart's content may cheat 'em.

"*Oak.* It chears my aged heart to see
So numerous a progeny;
I find by you, that 'tis Heaven's will
That Knavery should flourish still.
You have docility and wit,
And Fools were never wanting yet.
Observe the crafty Auctioneer,
His art to sell Waste Paper dear;
When he for salmon baits his hooks,
That Cormorant of Offal Books,
Who bites, as sure as maggots breed,
Or carrion crows on horse-flesh feed;
Fair specious Titles him deceive,
To sweep what Sl—— and T——n leave.
If greedy Gulls you wou'd ensnare,
Make 'em proposals wondrous fair;
Tell him strange golden show'rs shall fall,
And promise mountains to 'em all.

"*New*

" *New Lott.* That craft we've been already taught,
And by that trick have millions caught;
Books, Bawbles, Toys, all sorts of stuff,
Have gone off this way well enough.
Nay Musick, too, invades our art;
And to some tune wou'd play her part,
I'll shew you now what we are doing,
For we have divers wheels a going.
We now have found out richer lands
Than Asia's hills, or Africk's sands,
And to vast treasures must give birth,
Deep hid in bowels of the earth;
In fertile Wales, and God knows where,
Rich mines of gold and silver are,
From whence we drain prodigious store
Of silver coin'd, tho' none in ore,
Which down our throats rich Coxcombs pour,
In hopes to make us vomit more.
" *Oak.* This Project surely must be good,
Because not eas'ly understood:
Besides, it gives a mighty scope
To the Fool's argument—vain Hope.
No eagle's eye the cheat can see,
Thro' Hope thus back'd by Mystery.
" *New Lott.* We have, besides, a thousand more,
For Great and Small, for Rich and Poor,
From him that can his thousands spare,
Down to the Penny Customer.

" *Oak.*

" *Oak.* The silly Mob in crowds will run,
To be at easy rates undone.
A Cimcrack-show draws in the rout,
Thousands their All by Pence lay out.
" *New Lott.* We, by experience, find it true,
But we have methods wholly new,
Strange late-invented ways to thrive,
To make men pay for what they give,
To get the rents into our hands
Of their hereditary lands,
And out of what does thence arise,
To make 'em buy annuities.
We've mathematick combination,
To cheat folks by plain demonstration,
Which shall be fairly manag'd too,
The Undertaker knows not how.
Besides ——
" *Oak.* Pray, hold a little, here's enough,
To beggar Europe of this stuff.
Go on, and prosper, and be great,
I am to you a puny Cheat."

" The English, especially the gentry," says Chamberlayne, " are so much given to prodigality, sports, and pastimes, that estates are oftener spent and sold, than in any other country. They think it a piece of frugality (beneath a gentleman) to bargain beforehand, or to count afterward, for what they eat in any place, though the rate be most unreasonable: whereby it comes to pass, that cooks, vintners, innkeepers, and such

such mean fellows, enrich themselves, and beggar and insult over the gentry. In a word, by their prodigality, it comes to pass, that not only those, but taylors, dancing-masters, and such trifling fellows, arrive to that riches and pride, as to ride in their coaches, keep their summer-houses, to be served in plate, &c. — an insolence insupportable in other well-governed nations."

The two articles which conclude this chapter were put into my hands by Mr. Nichols, and are part of the collections of the late Rev. Dr. Lort.

"*From the Northumberland Household Book.* —An account how the Earl of Worcester lived at Ragland Castle, before the civil wars (begun in 1641).

"At eleven o'clock the castle gates were shut, and the tables laid; two in the dining-room, three in the hall, one in Mrs. Watson's apartment, where the chaplains eat (Sir Toby Matthews being the first), two in the housekeeper's room, for the ladies women.

"This was probably the noted Sir Toby Matthew, enumerated among Mr. Walpole's painters, who wrote the famous character of Lucy Percy, Countess of Carlisle, printed by Fenton in his notes on Waller's poems. He was a son of an Archbishop of York; but, turning Papist, had probably accepted the place of Chaplain in this great Earl's family, who was a Roman Catholick.

"The Earl came into the dining-room, attended by

by his gentlemen; as soon as he was seated, Sir Ralph Blackstone, steward of the house, retired; the comptroller, Mr. Holland, attended with his staff; as did the sewer Mr. Blackburn, the daily waiters, Mr. Clough, Mr. Selby, and Mr. Scudamore, with many gentlemen's sons, from two to seven hundred pounds a year, bred up in the castle; my lady's gentleman usher, Mr. Harcourt; my lord's gentlemen of the chamber, Mr. Morgan and Mr. Fox.

"At the first table sate the Noble Family, and such of the Nobility as came there.

"At the second table in the dining-room sate Knights and honourable gentlemen, attended by footmen.

"In the hall, at the first table, sate Sir Ralph Blackstone, steward; the comptroller, Mr. Holland; the secretary; the master of the horse, Mr. Delawar; the master of the fish-ponds, Mr. Andrews; my Lord Herbert's preceptor, Mr. Adams, with such gentlemen as came there under the degree of a Knight, attended by footmen, and plentifully served with wine.

"At the second table in the hall (served from my lord's table, and with other hot meat) sate the sewer, with the gentlemen waiters and pages, to the number of twenty-four. At the third table in the hall sate the clerk of the kitchen, with the yeomen, officers of the house, two grooms of the chambers, &c. Other officers of the house-

hold

hold were, chief auditor, Mr. Smith; clerk of the accounts, Geo. Wharton; purveyor of the castle, Mr. Salisbury; ushers of the hall, Mr. Moyle and Mr. Cooke; closet-keeper, gentlemen of the chapel, Mr. Davies, keeper of the records, master of the wardrobe, master of the armoury, master groom of the stable, for the war horses, 12; master of the hounds, master falconer, porter and his man.

"Two butchers, two keepers of the Home Park, two keepers of the Red Deer Park.

"Footmen, grooms, and other menial servants, to the number of 150; some of the footmen were brewers and bakers.

"*Out Offices*—Steward of Ragland, William Jones, Esq.; the governor of Chepstow Castle, Sir Nicholas Kemeys, Bart.; house-keeper of Worcester-house in London, James Redman, Esq.

"Bailiffs, thirteen; two counsel for the bailiffs to have recourse to; solicitor, Mr. John Smith."

What follows may be considered as a somewhat later establishment, being the orders of that Lord Fairfax who had been General of the Parliament forces.

"*Lord Fairfax's Order for the Servants of his Household (after the Civil Wars.)*

"Order for the house remembrance for servants—That all the servants be ready upon the Terras

Terras at such times as the strangers do come, to attend their alighting.

"Prayers — That one of the chapel bells be rung before the prayers one quarter of an hour; at which summons the butler must prepare for coveringe, but not cover.

"Porter — When prayers shall begin (or a very little before) the gates on all sides must be shut and locked, and the porter must come in to prayers, with all the keys; and after service is done, the gate must be opened until the usher warne to the dresser.

"Butler — The butler, with the yeomen of the chambers, or some other yeomen, must go to cover; the prayers done, formes and cussins where the ladies and the rest did sit must be removed.

"Servants after supper — After supper (I mean of the servants) they must presently repair into the dining-chamber, and there remove stools, see what other things be necessary, and attend further directions unto liverys be served, which they must be ready for upon the warning; and, in the mean time, let the butler (with one to help him) make them ready, and let not these servants depart until the best sort of strangers have taken their lodgings, and the porter must lock the door, and keep the keys.

"Morning — Let the servants attend by seven of the clock in the morning in the hall.

"Breakfast

"Breakfast—The clerk of the kitchen must appoint the cooks, what must be for breakfast for the ladies in their chambers, and likewise for the gentlemen in the hall or parlour, which must be served by eight of the clock in the morning, and not after.

"Dinner must be ready by eleven of the clock, prayers after ten, and the orders observed as is aforesaid.

"The Hall—The great chamber being served, the steward and chaplain must sit down in the hall, and call unto them the gentlemen, if there be any unplaced above, and then the servants of the strangers, as their masters be in degree.

"The usher's words of direction; first, when they go to cover, he must go before them through the hall, crying, 'By your leaves, gentlemen, stand by.'

"The coveringe done, he must say, 'Gentlemen and yeomen for plate.'

"Then he must warn to the dresser, 'Gentlemen and yeomen to dresser.'

"And he must attend the meat going through the hall, crying, 'By your leaves, my masters.' Likewise he must warn for the second course, and attend it as aforesaid.

"If bread or beer be wanting on the hall table, he must call aloud at the barr, 'Bread or beer for the hall.'

"If any unworthy fellow do unmannerly set himself

himself down before his betters, he must take him up, and place him lower.

"For the Chamber — Let the best fashioned and apparalled servants attend above the salte, the rest below.

"If one servant have occasion to speak to another about service at the table, let him whisper, for noise is uncivil.

"If any servant have occasion to go forth of the chamber for any thing, let him make haste, and see that no more than two be absent; and for prevention of errands, let all sauces be ready at the door, for even one mess of mustard will take a man's attendance from the table; but lest any thing happen unexpected, let the boy stand within the chamber door for errands, and see that your water and voyder be ready so soon as meat is served, and set on the table without. Have a good eye to the board for empty dishes and placing of others, and let not the board be unfurnished.

"The Cupboard — Let no man fill beer or wine but the cupboard-keeper, who must make choice of his glasses or cups for the company, and not serve them hand over head. He must also know which be for beer, and which for wine; for it were a foul thing to mix them together.

"Once again let me admonish silence; for it is the greatest part of civility.

"Let him which doth order the table be the last

last in it (the room) to see that nothing be left behind that should be taken away.

"Many things I cannot remember, which I refer to your good care, otherwise I should seem to write a book hereof."

State of Manners in England, 1678.

From a MS. of Aubrey's, in the Ashmole Museum.

"There were very few free schools in England before the Reformation. Youth were generally taught Latin in the monasterys; and young women had their education, not at Hackny as now (1678), but in the nunneries, where they learnt needle-work, confectionary, surgery, physic (apothecaries and surgeons being then rare), writing, drawing, &c. Old Jackquor now living has often seen from his house the nuns of St. Mary, Kingston, in Wilts, coming forth into the nymph hay with their rocks and wheels to spin, sometimes to the number of seventy; all whom were not nuns, but young girls sent there for education. Antiently, before the Reformation, ordinary men's houses and copyholders, and the like, had no chimneys, but flues like louver holes; some of 'em were in being when I was a boy.

"In the halls and parlours of great houses were wrote texts of scriptures on the painted cloths.

"The lawyers say, that before the time of Hen.

VIII.

VIII. one shall hardly find an action on the case, as for slander, &c. once in a year; *quod nota.*

"Before the last civil wars, in gentlemen's houses, at Christmas, the first dish that was brought to table was a boar's head, with a lemon in his mouth.

"At Queen's Coll. Oxon. they still retain this custom, the bearer of it bringing it into the hall, singing to an old tune an old Latin rhyme, 'Apri caput defero,' &c.

"The first dish that was brought up to table on Easter-day was a red herring riding away on horseback; *i. e.* a herring ordered by the cook something after the likeness of a man on horseback set in a corn sallad.

"The custom of eating a gammon of bacon at Easter (which is still kept up in many parts of England) was founded on this, viz. to shew their abhorrence of Judaism at that solemn commemoration of our Lord's resurrection.

"The use of your *humble servant* came first into England on the marriage of Queen Mary, daughter of Hen. IV. of France, which is derived from *votre tres humble serviteur.* The usual salutation before that time was, *God keep you, God be with you,* and among the vulgar, *How dost do?* with a thump on the shoulder.

"Till this time the Court itself was unpolished and unmannered: King James's Court was so far from being civil to women, that the ladies, nay, the

the Queen herself, could hardly pass by the King's apartment without receiving some affront.

"At the parish priests houses in France, especially in Languedoc, the table-cloths were on the board all the day long, and ready for what was in the house to be put thereon, for strangers, travellers, friars, pilgrims; so it was, I have heard my grandfather say, in his grandfather's time.

"Heretofore noblemen and gentlemen of fine estates had their heralds, who wore their coats of arms at Christmas and at other solemn times, and cried 'Largesse' thrice.

"A neat-built chapel, and a spacious hall, were all the rooms of note: the rest were small. At Tomarton, in Glostershire, antiently the seat of the Rivers, is a dungeon 13 or 14 feet deep; about 4 feet high are iron rings fastened in the wall, which was probably to tye offending villans to, as all lords of manors had this power over their villans (or socage tenants), and had all of them no doubt such places for punishment.

"It is well known all castles had dungeons, and so, I believe, had monasteries; for they had often within themselves power of life and death.

"Mr. Dugdale told me, that about Henry III.'s time the Pope gave a bull or patent to a company of Italian architects to travel up and down Europe to build churches.

"In days of yore, lords and gentlemen lived in the country like petty kings, had jura regalia belonging

belonging to Seignories, had castles and boroughs, had gallows within their liberties, where they could try, condemn, and execute; never went to London but in Parliament time, or once a year to do their *homage* to the King. They always eat in their Gothic halls at the high table or orsille (which is a little room at the upper end of the hall where stands a table) with the folks at the side table. The meat was served up by watch-words. Jacks are but of late invention; the poor boys did turn the spits, and licked the dripping for their pains. The beds of the men servants and retainers were in the hall, as now in the guard or privy chamber here. In the hall mumming and loaf stealing and other Christmas sports were performed.

"The hearth was commonly in the middle, whence the saying, *Round about our coal fire.*

"Every baron and gentleman of estate kept great horses for men at arms; some had their armories sufficient to furnish out some hundreds of men. The halls of the Justice of Peace were dreadful to behold. The skreen was garnished with corslets and helmets, gaping with open mouths, with coats of mail, launces, pikes, halberts, brown bills, bucklers.

"Public inns were rare; travellers were entertained at religious houses for three days together, if occasion served. The meetings of the gentry were not at taverns, but in the fields or forests,

with their hawks and hounds, and their bugle horns in silken bawderies.

" In the last age every gentleman-like man kept a sparrow-hawke, and a priest kept a hobby; as Dame Julièn Berners teaches us (who wrote a treatise on field sports in Henry VIth's time).

" It was a diversion for young gentlemen to man sparrow-hawks and morlines.

" Before the Reformation there were no poor's rates, the charitable doles given at the religious houses, and the church ale in every parish, did the business.

" In every parish there was a church-house, to which belonged spits, potts, &c. for dressing provision. Here the housekeepers met, and were merry, and gave their charity. The young people came there too, and had dancing, bowling, shooting at butts, &c. Mr. A. Wood assures me there were few or no alms-houses before the time of Henry VIII.; that at Oxon, opposite Christ church, was one of the most antient in England.

" In every church was a poor's box, and the like at great inns.

" Before the wake or feast of the dedication of the church, they sat there all night, fasting and praying, viz. on the eve of the wake.

" In the Easter holydays was the clerks ale for his benefit, and the solace of the neighborhood.

" In these times, besides the jollitys above mentioned, they had their pilgrimages to several shrines,

shrines, as to Walsingham, Canterbury, Glastonbury, Bromholm, &c. Then the crusades to the holy wars were magnificent and splendid, and gave rise to the adventures of knights-errant and romances. The solemnity attending processions in and about churches, and the perambulations in the fields, were great diversions also of those times.

"Glass windows in churches and gentlemen's houses were rare before the time of Henry VIII. In my own remembrance, before the civil wars, copyholders and poor people had none. In Herefordshire, Monmouthshire, and Salop, it is so still. About 90 years ago, noblemen's and gentlemen's coats were of the fashion of the beadles and yeomen of the guard, *(i. e.)* gather'd at the middle. The benchers in the inns of court yet retain that fashion in the make of their gowns.

"Captain Silas Taylor says, that, in days of yore, when a church was to be built, they watched and prayed on the vigil of the dedication, and took that part of the horizon when the sun arose for the East, which makes that variation, so that few stand true except those built between the two equinoxes.

"I have experimented some churches, and found the line to point to the horizon where the sun rises on the day of that Saint to whom the church is dedicated.

"In Scotland, especially among the Highland-

ers, the women make a curtesy to the new moon, and our English women in this country have a touch of this. Some of them sitting astride on a gate or stile the first evening the new moon appears, and say, 'A fine moon; God bless her!' The like I observed in Hertfordshire.

"The Britains received the knowledge of husbandry from the Romans. The foot and the acre which we yet use is the nearest to them. In our West Country, and, I believe, in the North, they give no wages to the shepherd; but he has the keeping so many sheep with his master's flock.

"Plautus hints at this in his Asinaria, act iii. s. 1. 'Etiam Opilio,' &c.

"The Normans brought with them into England civility and building, which, though it was Gothic, was yet magnificent. Upon any occasion of bustling in those days, great lords sounded their trumpets, and summoned those that held under them. Old Sir Walter Long of Draycot kept a trumpeter, rode with thirty servants and retainers: hence the sheriff's trumpets at this day. No younger brothers then were to betake themselves to *trade*, but were churchmen or *retainers* to great men.

"From the time of Erasmus to about 20 years last past, the learning was downright pedantry. The conversation and habits of those times were as starcht as their bands and square beards, and gravity was then taken for wisdom. The doc-

tors

tors in those days were but old boys, when quibbles passed for wit even in their sermons.

"The gentry and citizens had little learning of any kind, and their way of breeding up their children was suitable to the rest. They were as severe to their children as their schoolmasters, and their schoolmasters as severe as masters of the house of correction. The child perfectly loathed the sight of the parent as the slave his torture. Gentlemen of thirty or forty years old were to stand like mutes and fools bareheaded before their parents, and the daughters (well grown women) were to stand at the cupboard-side during the whole time of the proud mother's visits, unless (as the fashion was) leave was desired forsooth that a cushion should be given them to kneel upon, brought them by the serving-man, after they had done sufficient penance in standing.

"The boys (I mean young fellows) had their foreheads turned up, and stiffened with spittle; they were to stand mannerly forsooth, thus — the foretop ordered as before, with one hand at the band-string, the other behind the breech or codpeice.

"The gentlemen then had prodigious fans, as is to be seen in old pictures, like that instrument which is used to drive feathers; and it had a handle at least one half as long, with which their daughters oftentimes were corrected.

"Sir

"Sir Edward Coke, Lord Chief Justice, rode the circuit with such a fan; Sir William Dugdale told me he was an eye-witness of it.

"The Earl of Manchester also used such a fan; but the fathers and mothers slasht their daughters, in the time of their besom discipline, when they were perfect women.

"At Oxford (and, I believe, also at Cambridge), the rod was frequently used by the tutors and deans; and Dr. Potter of Trinity College, I knew right well, whipt his pupil with his sword by his side, when he came to take his leave of him to go to the Inns of Court."

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

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WITH YOU, RIGHT THROUGH

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